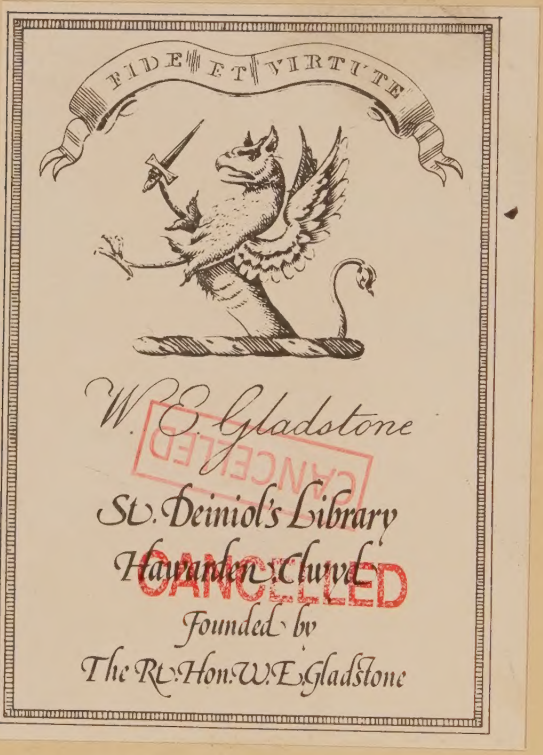
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HISTORY

OF THE

ROMAN BREVIARY

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

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HISTORY

OF THE

ROMAN BREVIARY

BY

MGR. PIERRE BATIFFOL, LITT.D.

TRANSLATED BY

ATWELL M. Y. BAYLAY, M.A.

FROM THE THIRD FRENCH EDITION,
WITH A NEW CHAPTER ON THE DECREE OF PIUS X.

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THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION (1911)

However numerous the authors who, in the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth, wrote on the subject of liturgy and, as included therein, of the Divine Office, I may be permitted to assert that the first of them to regard these studies from the same standpoint as our own was the venerable and lovable Cardinal Bona. He was General of the Cistercians when he published at Rome, in 1653, the book, long since become a classic, generally known as *De Divina Psalmodia*. He became a Cardinal in 1669, and died in 1674. He had read wisely, and gave us the results of his reading with candour and unction. The main object he had in view was edification, and it is his zeal for this that led him to amass his erudition, but that erudition is rich, and has the true ring about it.

Dom Mabillon is, however, the true master of our studies. It is only to be regretted that he was not able to devote himself more extensively to the study of Roman liturgy. But at all events we owe to him the publication, in his *Musaeum Italicum* (Paris, 1687), of the principal *Ordines Romani*. His treatise, *De Liturgia Gallicana* (Paris, 1685), though only an appendix to his edition of the works of S. Germain, is the work of a master. In it he sets forth all that can be learnt from documents concerning the ancient Gallican liturgy, and he publishes the text of the Sacramentaries extant. Then, finally, what he had done for the Mass he has also done for the Gallican *Office* in his dissertation *De cursu Gallicano*, which is a model of terseness and brevity.

What our countryman Mabillon did not do for the Roman liturgy was undertaken at Rome by the Theatine Tomasi. Leaving out of consideration his publications on the subject of the Mass, we may remark that he printed the documents which appeared to him to give the best representation of the ancient Roman Office, and first and foremost among them, the antiphonary of the Basilica of S. Peter, of which we shall frequently have occasion to speak, *Responsoralia et Antiphonaria Romanae Ecclesiae a S. Gregorio magno disposita, cum appendice monumentorum veterum et scholiis* (Rome, 1686). This, along with all Tomasi's publications, is to be found in the edition of his complete works published by Vezzosi (Rome, 1747-1754). Tomasi was made a Cardinal in 1712, and died in 1713. He had, by means of his publication of well-chosen and accurate documents, amassed materials of which we still make use: he himself annotating them with sobriety and judgment.

Of the same liturgical lineage is the German Benedictine, Dom Gerbert, from whose *Monumenta veteris Liturgiae Alemannicae* (Sant-Blasien, 1779), we shall quote.

In France, liturgical erudition, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, produced two books of lasting value. In the first rank is the *Tractatus de antiqua Ecclesiae disciplina in divinus celebrandis officiis* (Lyons, 1706) of Dom Martene. This author is often overwhelmed, as it were, under the abundance of his documents: however, this criticism only applies to his array of textual authorities; for his exposition of them, while presenting an admirable richness of information, is at the same time distinguished by a clearness, both of arrangement and of perception, which renders Dom Martene's work a book with which one must to this day continually reckon.

In the second rank I should wish to place the *Commentaire historique sur le Bréviaire* (Paris, 1727) of the Sorbonnist Grancolas, soon after translated into Latin (Venice, 1734). He owes much to Dom Mar-

tene; nevertheless he has his own erudition and his own quality of shrewd discernment. He is instructive, even after reading Dom Martene.

In the nineteenth century France, if I am not mistaken, led the way in the revival of liturgical studies. The *Institutions liturgiques* (Paris, 1840) of Dom Guéranger was in this respect an epoch-making work. In it the history of liturgy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is treated with equal force and learning. This, which did a great deal towards the rooting out of the Gallican breviaries of the *ancien régime*, is the best part of the *Institutions*. It may be said also without paradox that the *Paléographie Musicale* of Solesmes, and the *Mélodies Grégoriennes* of Dom Pothier, are among the results of Guéranger's *Institutions*. On the other hand, and in some sort, in direct descent from Mabillon and Martene, we have the *Origines du culte* of Mgr. Duchesne. This book gives us for the history of Latin liturgy before Charlemagne a critical classification of sources and rites which is admirably trustworthy. In it, however, that which relates specially to the Divine Office is passed over. But of this I ought not to complain, since without that omission there would have been no occasion for my "History of the Roman Breviary".

One hardly dares to mention Roskovány, the author of a compilation entitled *De Coelibatu et Breviario*, in thirteen volumes, published at Pesth between 1861 and 1888, into which volumes this good bishop has thrown pell-mell, as one might throw things into drawers, all the documents he met with relating to the history of the Breviary and of the celibate state. It is a collection to draw from, provided we do not trust too blindly to the exactitude of its compiler.

Some German works call for notice.

We owe to a Redemptorist, Father G. Schober, an excellent work, though modest in appearance, *Explanatio critica editionis Breviarii Romani qui a Sac. Rit. Cong.*

uti typica declarata est (Ratisbon, 1891). The author in his introduction gives a short sketch of the history of the Breviary, in which, for the first time, the projects of Benedict XIV were brought into notice. They had been ignored or left unexplained by Guéranger.

Two years after the publication of the first edition of my *Histoire du Bréviaire Romain* at Paris in 1893, a Benedictine of Beuron, Dom Bäumer, published his *Geschichte des Breviers* (Fribourg, 1895), which has since been translated into French by a Benedictine of Farnborough, Dom Biron (Paris, 1905). It is a compilation on the subject of the Roman Breviary and subjects connected with it. I need hardly say I have read it with attention, and I have found in it much instructive information; have found some questions prejudged; and occasionally, in regard to my own work, criticisms of some acerbity. I have endeavoured to profit by it all, and towards this excellent man, whom I survive, my only feeling is gratitude.

My own *Micrologus*, that is to say, my "History of the Roman Breviary"—of which the first French edition appeared in 1893 and the second in 1895, and an English edition, translated by Mr. Baylay, was published in London by Longmans in 1898—has been out of print both in French and English for some years. I was pressed in many quarters to reprint it, but I felt it necessary first to copy certain records from archives at Rome, to follow up the study of the manuscript Breviaries, and to make a most careful revision of all the references to documents that occur in my book. I set to work on it in 1904, but other work delayed me, and more pressing interests: and so it is only after being seven years on the stocks that this new edition has been launched.

The kindness with which, these twenty years or so, this history of mine has been received, must no doubt be ascribed to the interest taken by our readers in the Breviary itself, and to the affection felt indeed equally by us as by them for this venerable work of Roman

piety. Newman, while still an Anglican, could say: "There is so much of excellence and beauty in the services of the Breviary that, were it skilfully set before the Protestant by Roman controversialists as the book of devotions received in their Communion, it would undoubtedly raise a prejudice in their favour. . . ".[1]

The restoration of the Gregorian melodies in all their original beauty has made us yet more sensible of the truth of this opinion; but, even leaving on one side the "Roman Chant," there remains the inspiring text of the responds and antiphons, the arrangement of the psalter, the instruction conveyed by the lessons: there is, in fact, at the root of all, a traditional conception of public prayer, its object and its sources; there is a soul, and that the soul of Rome. As we recognize and apprehend it, we feel ourselves in touch with an ancient piety which we instinctively appreciate and love. This is the benefit to be reaped from all study of the history of liturgy.

My readers have also felt obliged to me for having attempted to give a *critical* history of the Breviary. The labours of the consultators of Benedict XIV dispensed me from attempting a sort of commentary on the credibility of the legends, or the claim of certain festivals: to observance I had nothing to do but to report the judgment of these consultators, so specially authorized. But by "critical history" I understand the method which consists, with regard to any institution in the Church, in searching out what have been its successive states from its origin down to our own times, in assigning to each development its date, and in describing the turn of events by which each such development was produced, established, or abandoned.

Thus, I venture to think, will be manifested the unity of my own labours these twenty years: for this "History of the Roman Breviary" has been the prelude to various other researches in which (*servatis servandis*) the same method was applied to the history of

[1] *Tracts for the Times*, No. 75, on the Roman Breviary, p. 1.

other institutions of the Church, and to the very notion itself of the Church and of Catholicism. The day will come when the benefit which one rejoices to find in a history of the Breviary one will equally rejoice to find in a history, say, of ordination or of the origins of the dogma of the Holy Trinity. And when once we are of one mind in thus thinking, the truth which Catholicism possesses by tradition handed down from the first ages will acquire a notably enhanced value.

At the present time the farthest point which we have reached is to endeavour with all our power to ensure this future progress. I owed it to the readers who have loved this "History of the Roman Breviary," and have pardoned any statements advanced in it which were not well matured, to revise it with extreme care. I admire, without, alas! being of their number, the authors who have no need to correct their statements, and never write anything that is not absolutely final. For us historians, even if the trend of the main lines of our subject is easily traced, there are always the details to verify, and of these details there are no end. The main lines of my book have been adhered to, the fundamental theses have been strengthened, their documentary justification has been verified and enriched. On many points I have modified my original assertions, and I gladly put these corrections under the protection of these golden words of Thomassin: "Most people like an air of decision, and the statement of precise conclusions on whatever subject is under discussion, without any shadow of doubt being suffered to remain in the mind. . . . Nevertheless, that is not by any means the course that must be taken in order to become profoundly acquainted with the learning of antiquity. Bearing in mind that it is a region very far distant from our own, and largely occupied by darkness, one must make one's way step by step, and with extreme caution".

PARIS, *September* 30, 1910.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO THE NEW ENGLISH EDITION (1912)

THE present English edition is translated from the third French edition (Paris, 1911), the difference consisting in a series of corrections of details. The most noteworthy among them are due to the suggestions of that excellent liturgist, M. Atwell Baylay, whom I take pleasure in thanking for the friendly care and attention he has bestowed on the English translation.

The "conclusion" of the French edition has been omitted, and a chapter on the reform of Pius X has been added in its place. No one would have accepted the idea of a history of the Roman Breviary that should have left out the conclusion which the Holy See has just given to the projects of Benedict XIV by the Bull *Divino Afflatu* of November 1, 1911.

In writing these additional pages, I have had great satisfaction in finding, in all that the papal reform restores, the fulfilment of those desires my book first gave respectful expression to twenty years ago.

PARIS, *Octave of the Epiphany*, 1912.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

FOURTEEN years ago I had the pleasure of translating into English the former edition of this "History of the Roman Breviary," and now, by the kind permission of Mgr. Batiffol, I perform the same office for the new edition which he has brought out.

In the years that have intervened I have read sundry books concerned with the history of the Breviary, but I am still of the opinion that Mgr. Batiffol's is the best. And, if I may be so bold as to say so, I think that in this edition he has very materially improved it. He has matured his statements and strengthened his positions, without sacrificing that lucidity and vivacity of style which makes him, in his own language, such an *easy* author to read. That I should preserve the charm of that style in an English version is a thing which I have not sufficient self-conceit to dream of. All that I claim is that I have done my best to convey the author's meaning clearly and accurately. The few notes which I have thought it desirable to add are distinguished by the initials A. B. It is my hope that, in placing Mgr. Batiffol's book in the hands of English readers, I shall be doing something towards increasing their love and veneration for those noble offices of prayer which are among the chief glories of the Western Church.

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CHAPTER I.

THE GENESIS OF THE CANONICAL HOURS.

It was the distribution of Christian prayer over the various times of the day that gave birth to these "Hours of Prayer," and among them three groups are to be discerned: (1) the nocturnal group; (2) the group composed of terce, sext, and none; (3) the group comprising prime and compline. Each of these groups has its own date, and its own peculiar origin.

I.

The nocturnal group has as its first element the "vigil," which in primitive times was celebrated in the night between Saturday and Sunday: for it must be remembered that, in the method of reckoning followed by the Romans as well as by the Jews, the extent of each day was from evening to evening, and consequently the observance of the Sunday began on the Saturday evening. Whence did the Christians of the first century derive the idea of assembling in the night to watch and pray together?[1] The origins of this Sunday vigil are exceedingly obscure.

Later ecclesiastical writers have nevertheless attempted to explain this vigil, and their interpretation of it is as follows: "The Lord's Day" was the commemoration of the Resurrection of Christ, and thus was, as it were, a weekly Easter. Now the Christian festival of Easter had a solemn vigil, employed in the solemn baptism of the catechumens. The idea was entertained that, the night of Holy Saturday before Easter Sunday being that whereon Christ rose from the dead, it would be on such a night that He would reappear in the world, like the destroying

[1] Mgr. Duchesne, *Origines du culte*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1898, p. 219, recognizes this nocturnal assembly as being already referred to in the letter of Pliny concerning the Christians (Ep. x. 96). "Stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem." But this passage may possibly refer to the assembly for the baptismal initiation: see Lightfoot, *Ignatius* (1889), t. i. p. 52. In that case it would at all events show that the Christians celebrated *baptism* before dawn.

angel who had of old, on the night of the first Passover, smitten the first-born of Egypt. On that night of Easter, that night of which the prophet (as men believed) had foretold that it should be as clear as the day—*et nox sicut dies illuminabitur* (Ps. CXXXVIII. 12)—it was meet that none should sleep, but watch and pray till dawn, awaiting the coming of the Lord. Thence came the institution of the Paschal vigil, and the Paschal vigil, in time, gave birth to the Sunday vigil. Thus S. Augustine calls the Paschal vigil "the mother of all the holy vigils," and S. Jerome, following Lactantius, explains the observance of the vigil by the expectation of the return of Christ, and speaks of this explanation as an Apostolic tradition.[1]

[1] S. Aug. *Serm.* CCXIX. "B. Paulus dicit: *In vigiliis saepius* (2 Cor. XI. 27). Quanto ergo alacrius in hac vigilia [Paschae] velut matre omnium sanctarum vigiliarum vigilare debemus, in qua totus mundus vigilat."

Priscillian, *Tract.* 6 (ed. Schepss, ". . . ut delegatas in Pascha Domini vigilias imitantes, conversantes in ignorantiae nocte pervigiletis ad Deum."

S. Jerome, *Comm. in Matt.* IV. 25. "Traditio Judaeorum est Christum media nocte venturum in similitudinem Aegyptii temporis, quando Pascha celebratum est et exterminator venit, et Dominus super tabernacula transiit, et sanguine agni postes nostrarum frontium consecrati sunt. Unde reor et traditionem Apostolicam permansisse ut, in die vigiliarum Paschae, ante noctis dimidium populos dimittere non liceat, expectantes adventum Christi. Et postquam illud tempus transierit securitate praesumpta festum cuncti agunt diem. Unde et Psalmista dicebat: *Media nocte surgebam ad confitendum Tibi super judicia justificationis Tuae.*"

"The tradition of the Jews is that Christ will come at midnight, as at the time of the going forth from Egypt, when the Passover was celebrated, and the destroying angel came; when the Lord passed over our dwellings, and our doorposts were hallowed by the blood of the lamb. Whence also I think that the Apostolic tradition has survived, of not allowing the people to be dismissed before midnight on the vigil of Easter, in expectation of the coming of Christ. But after that hour has passed, all, with confidence of safety, celebrate the festival. Whence the psalmist also said: At midnight I will rise to give thanks unto Thee, because of Thy righteous judgments" (Ps. CXVIII. 62).

Cf. Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* VII. 19; Isidor, *Etym.* VI. 17. We find a trace of this same belief in a Poitiers pontifical of the tenth century, now in the library of the Arsenal of Paris: MS. No. 227, Fol. 178.

"Omni sollicitudine procuretur ut *Gloria in excelsis Deo* ea nocte [Sancti Sabbati] ante non incipiatur quam stella appareat in caelum, ea scilicet ratione ne populi ante medium noctis ab ecclesia dimittantur. Siquidem traditio Apostolica est media nocte in hujus sacratissimae noctis Vigilia Dominum ad judicium esse venturum. . . . Enimvero sicut veracium personarum relatione traditur, qui nostro tempore de Hierusalem advenerunt, hac auctoritate et traditione fideles populi illic instructi, in Sabbato vigiliarum Paschae in ecclesiam convenientes quasi Do-

"With great care be it contrived that 'Glory be to God on high' be not begun that night before one star can be seen in the sky, to the end that the people may not be dismissed from the church before midnight. For indeed it is an Apostolic tradition that at midnight on this most sacred night the Lord will come to judgment. . . . And as it is reported on the testimony of truthful persons who in our times have come from Jerusalem, the faithful there, being instructed in this authoritative tradition, assemble in the church for the vigil on Easter Eve as if ready to

This explanation, in so far as it derives the Sunday vigil from the Paschal, has in its favour certain liturgical analogies. At Rome, as Mgr. Duchesne tells us,—"the office of Holy Saturday and that of the Vigil of Pentecost have preserved to us, in that part which precedes the benediction of the Baptismal Fonts, the type of the ancient vigils as they were celebrated every Sunday in the first ages of Christianity".[1]

In imitation of the Paschal vigil, the Sunday vigil also ought to have lasted all through the night, to deserve the title of *παννυχίς*,[2] sometimes applied to it. But, in practice, the Sunday vigil began at cock-crow. However, they also consecrated to prayer the *beginning* of the night, the hour when lamps had to be lighted, called in Greek *λυχνικόν*, in Latin *lucernarium*. The office which was in time to be known as Vespers is in reality the first part of the nocturnal vigil: vespers belong of right to the night. S. Methodius (*d.* 311) compares the life of virgins to a vigil, which, like all vigils, would have three periods, of which the first is the evening watch.[3] S. Ambrose writes: "I began to meditate on the verse which we had sung that evening in the vigils,"—*vesperi in vigiliis.*[4]

The programme of the vigils comprised the reading of the Holy Scriptures,[5] also prayers addressed to God, and the singing of psalms. The reading of the Holy Scriptures was an exercise adopted from the Jewish synagogue worship. One may say the same of the prayers addressed to God, of which the synagogues furnished such beautiful examples, as for instance the *Kaddisch*, which was recited at the morning service, and which goes back perhaps to the first century. The president of the assembly pronounces the prayer, or invocation, or benediction, and to each petition the congregation responds

minum excepturi, ac velut ad Ejus judicium properaturi, omni devotione et sollicitudine intenti, cum silentio et tremore horam in evangelico designatam praestolantur. Clerus etiam ea nocte cum suo pontifice in ecclesia degens praedictam cum pavore et devotione expectat horam: nec ante ingrediuntur ad missas quam una ex lampadibus in Sepulchro Domini per angelicam illuminetur administrationem."

receive the Lord, and hasting unto His judgment (2 Pet. III. 12); and with minds full of anxious devotion await the hour named in the Gospel in silence and fear. The clergy also, with their pontiff, abiding in the Church that night, wait for the predicted hour with fear and devotion; nor do they begin Mass until one of the lamps in the sepulchre of our Lord has been lighted by angelic ministration."

[1] *Origines*, p. 219.
[2] S. Athan. *Apol. ad Constantium*, 25; *Apol. de fuga*, 24.
[3] S. Method., *Sympos.* v. 2. [4] S. Ambros. Ep. XXIX. 1.
[5] On the reading of the Holy Scriptures see Eusebius, *De Mart. Palest.* XIII. 8,

with *Amen*, or a doxology.[1] The Christian Litany is essentially the same thing.[2]

This simple *Amen*, the first sign of the existence of a Christian liturgy, testifies to its form having been that of a dialogue, as do also such acclamations as *in sæcula*.[3]

The singing also assumed the form of a dialogue. The number of people who knew how to read being small, books being scarce, and the texts of the psalms often difficult, the psalmody was not rendered by all together, but by one clerk, as a solo. He recited the psalm on a musical phrase, sometimes simple, like a recitative, sometimes more ornate. Custom was divided between these two modes of psalmody. In the fourth century, at Alexandria, S. Athanasius ordered that "the reader of the psalm" should use such slight inflexions of the voice that he might seem to say rather than chant it: *tam modico flexu vocis faciebat sonare lectorem psalmi, ut pronuncianti vicinior esset quam canenti.*[4]

Meanwhile, the congregation listened in silence while the reader said or sung the psalm: but the psalm was always concluded with some sort of refrain or acclamation sung by the congregation all together, like the response of a litany. The doxology *Gloria Patri* is an acclamation of this kind.

The custom also grew up of intercalating similar refrains in the course of the psalm, to be taken up by the whole congregation after each verse or pair of verses.[5] The refrains were

[1] W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judenthums* (Berlin, 1903), p. 156. See the text of the Kaddisch in F. E. Warren's *Liturgy and Ritual of the Ante-Nicene Church* (London, 1897), pp. 214-5.

[2] [None of these prayers in the primitive offices were of the nature of *Collects*, but short, like versicles, or the suffrages of the Litany, followed by a response.—A. B.]

[3] On the use of *Amen* see Dom Cabrol, *Dict. d'archéologie Chrêt.* article *Amen*. The acclamation *in sæcula*, or *in sæcula sæculorum*, is frequent in the Epistles of the New Testament, and invariably followed by *Amen* (Rom. xi. 36, xvi. 27; Gal. i. 5; Eph. iii. 21; Phil. iv. 26; 1 Tim. i. 17 (cf. vi. 16); 2 Tim. iv. 18; Heb. xiii. 21; 1 Pet. iv. 11, v. 11; Apoc. i. 6, v. 13, vii. 12). In S. Jude, verse 25, is to be found the most complete formula. Tertullian (*De Spectac.* 25), tells us that the acclamation εἰς αἰῶνας ἐπ' αἰώνων was one employed by the public in the spectacular games, as for instance in the gladiatorial combats, for the purpose of rendering an ovation, and he desires that Christians should reserve that acclamation for Christ our God alone.

[4] S. Aug. *Confess.* x. 33.

[5] See an example of such psalmody in Bruce's Gnostic papyrus (Amélineau, *Notice sur le papyrus gnostique Bruce*, Paris, 1891, pp. 160-70): "Then he began to sing a hymn giving glory to His Father,—'I give glory to Thee, etc.'. Then He made His disciples respond thrice,—'Amen, Amen, Amen'. Again, He said, 'I will sing unto Thee a hymn of praise, O God My Father: for it is Thou, etc.'. Then they said thrice, 'O God unmoveable'. And after each couplet the disciples repeated, 'O God unmoveable, such was Thine unmoveable will'."

called in Greek *ἀκροστίχια*.[1] "I took my place on the throne," writes S. Athanasius, "and told a deacon to recite a psalm, and the congregation to respond, 'For His mercy endureth for ever'."[2] So also S. Augustine says—"Evodius took the Psalter, and began to chant a psalm, to which we, even the whole family, responded, 'My song shall be of mercy and judgment: unto Thee, O Lord, will I sing'."[3] This manner of treating the psalmody is attested by Tertullian as an existing custom, about A.D. 200.[4] The Christians, no doubt had adopted it from the Jews.[5]

We are assured by John Cassian that the monastic communities of Egypt, at the end of the fourth century, had remained faithful to the most ancient and severe form of psalmody. The office, of the evening and of the night alike, consisted of the recitation of twelve psalms.[6] And this number would appear to have been fixed on at a very early date, for the Egyptians loved to assert that it went back to the time of S. Mark, their first bishop, and that it had been revealed by an angel from Heaven.

These twelve psalms were executed as a solo by a reader, or rather by four readers who relieved one another, each of them having to sing not more than three psalms in succession.[7]

[1] *Constit. Apost.* II. 57, 6: *ὁ λαὸς τὰ ἀκροστίχια ὑποψαλλέτω.* Cf. Marc. *Vita S. Porphyrii Gazensis*, 77 (*Acta SS. Feb.* t. III. p. 657).

[2] S. Athan. *Apol. de fuga.* 24. He says of the deacon *ἀναγινώσκειν ψαλμόν*, and of the people *ὑπακούειν*. Cf. S. John Chrys. in 1 Cor. *Homil.* XXXVI. 6: *ὁ ψάλλων ψάλλει μόνος, κἂν πάντες ὑπηκῶσιν, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος ἡ φωνὴ φέρεται.* Note that the women take no part in the singing in church. *Didascalia CCCXVIII Patrum* (ed. Batiffol, 1887), p. 18: *Γυναιξὶ παραγγέλλεσθαι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ μὴ λαλεῖν, μήτε συμψάλλειν, μήτε συνυπακούειν, εἰ μὴ μόνον σιγᾶν.*

[3] S. Aug. *Confess.* IX. 12: "Psalterium arripuit Evodius, et cantare coepit psalmum, cui respondebamus omnis domus". Note that whereas S. Athanasius says *ἀναγινώσκειν*, S. Augustine says *cantare*. Again in *Enarr.* in Ps. XLVI. 1: "In hoc psalmo quem cantatum audivimus, cui cantando respondimus," and *Enarr.* in Ps. XCIX. 1: "Psalmum, fratres, quum cantaretur audistis".

[4] Tertull. *De orat.* 27: "Diligentiores in orando subjungere in orationibus *Alleluia* solent, et hoc genus psalmos quorum clausulis respondent qui simul sunt".

[5] Philo, quoted by Eusebius, *H.E.* II. 17, 22: "*Ἑνὸς μετὰ ῥυθμοῦ ἐπιψάλλοντος, οἱ λοιποὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἀκροώμενοι τῶν ὕμνων τὰ ἀκροτελεύτια συνεξηχοῦσιν*". Philo is speaking of the *Therapeuti*. But at all events the idea of intercalating doxologies into every prayer or Christian discourse goes back to the very earliest period of Christianity. See I *Clem.* XXXVIII. 4, XLIII. 6, L. 7, LVIII. 2, LXI. 3, LXIV.

[6] Cassian, *Instit. coenob.* II. 5: "Unus in medium psalmos Domino cantaturus exsurgit. Cumque sedentibus cunctis, ut est moris nunc usque in Aegypti partibus, et in psallentis verba omni cordis intentione defixis, undecim psalmos orationum interjectione distinctos contiguis versibus parili pronuntiatione decantasset, duodecimum sub *Alleluiae* responsione consummans, . . . caerimoniis finem imponit".

[7] *ibid.* II.

If the psalm was long, a short pause was made after every ten or twelve verses, to give opportunity for meditation: "*non enim multitudine versuum sed mentis intelligentia delectantur.* There was no doxology at the end of the psalm, but only a prayer. We do not know what was the form of these *orationes.*[1] After the psalms they went on to the reading of the Scriptures, which comprised two lessons, one from the Old Testament and one from the New, on every day except Saturday and Sunday, when both were from the New Testament.[2] The monks remained in absolute silence during the whole time occupied by the psalmody and the lessons; nothing was to be heard but one voice: there seemed to be as it were but one soul, so rapt was the attention of the congregation.[3]

Thus far we have spoken of psalms and psalmody as if there were no question of any other psalms than those of the Old Testament. But there is no room for doubting that, in the fourth century, the *Gloria in excelsis* was reckoned as one of the psalms of the morning office.[4] In the same way they reckoned among the vesper psalms the following little hymn:—

We praise Thee, we hymn Thee, we bless Thee for Thy great glory, O Lord our King, Father of Christ the Lamb without spot, that taketh away the sin of the world. To Thee be praise, to Thee the hymn, to Thee the glory, to Thee who art God, even the Father, through the Son, in the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen.[5]

These are two curiosities of euchology. One may place in the same class with them a third hymn, which is asserted by S. Basil[6] to be a psalm of thanksgiving used at the *Lucernarium* or vespers, and which he assures us was very popular and very ancient:—

O blessed Jesu Christ, joyful Light of the holy glory of the immortal Father, the Heavenly, the Holy!—now being come unto the setting of the

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[1] Cassian, *Instit. coenob.* II. 8: "Illud etiam quod in hac provincia [ad Massiliam] vidimus, ut uno cantante in clausula psalmi omnes adstantes concinant cum clamore *Gloria Patri et Filio et spiritui Sancto*, nusquam per omnem Orientem audivimus, sed cum omnium silentio ab eo qui cantat finito psalmo orationem succedere; hac vero glorificatione Trinitatis tantummodo solere antiphona terminari."

[2] *ibid.* 6. [3] *ibid.* 10.

[4] Pseudo-Athan. *De virginitate*, 20 (ed. Von der Goltz, 1905, p. 55). *Constit. Apost.* VII. 47 (ed. Funk, p. 455).

[5] *Constit. Apost.* VII. 48 (Funk, p. 457). See Funk's notes on both passages. Note also that the doxology *Gloria Patri per Filium in Spiritu Sancto* is a more ancient formula than our *Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto.* Philostorg. *H.E.* III. 13; Theodoret, *H.E.* II. 19; S. Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto*, 3.

[6] *De Spiritu Sancto*, 73.

sun, and beholding the light of evening, we bless the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit of God.

Worthy art Thou at all times to be praised with holy voices, O Son of God that givest Life.

Therefore doth all the world glorify Thee.[1]

These are what used to be called "private psalms". This sort of psalm had been in the second and third centuries in great favour both with Catholics and heretics. In a fragment of an anonymous Roman treatise, "Against the heresy of Artemon," quoted by Eusebius, the controversialist opposes to the Unitarian innovations of that heresiarch of the end of the second century the authority of the Popes Victor and Zephyrinus, who had condemned him, as also of S. Justin Martyr, S. Clement, S. Irenæus, and Mellito, who had so clearly affirmed the Divinity of Christ . . . "and so great a number of Christian psalms and hymns, composed by the faithful from the very beginning [of the Church], wherein they celebrate Christ, the Word of God, proclaiming Him to be God Himself".[2] Paul of Samosata, who was Bishop of Antioch from 260 to 270, had suppressed "the psalms which were chanted there in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ". Such is the expression used by the bishops in giving sentence of deposition against Paul of Samosata. And what pretext had the latter alleged in justification of this suppression? "These psalms," he had said, "were not the ancient psalms of David: they were new, and the work of new men."[3]

There is preserved in a papyrus in the Archduke Rainer's collection a composition of this kind, from Egypt, which dates from the first years of the fourth century. It is a kind of psalm with a doxology, the latter being intended to be taken up by the faithful all together:—

O Thou Who wast born at Bethlehem, and dwelledst at Nazareth of Galilee, we have seen the sign in the sky.

The star hath appeared, and the shepherds, who were passing the night in the fields, were filled with wonder. And falling on their knees they said:—

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[1] See the Greek text in Christ and Paranikas, *Anthol. Græca Carm. Christian.* (Leipzig, 1871), p. 40. I do not see from the passage in S. Basil that one has any right to conclude that this little psalm *Φῶς ἱλαρὸν ἁγίας δόξης* is the hymn of Athenogenes.

[2] Euseb. *H.E.* v. 28, 5:—*ψαλμοὶ καὶ ᾠδαί.*

[3] *ibid.* VII. 30, 10. The document quoted adds that Paul had substituted for psalms composed in praise of Christ, others composed in praise of himself and caused them to be sung by women:—*ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ψαλμῳδεῖν γυναῖκας παρασκευάζων.* And we know that it was not a thing tolerated that the voices of women should be heard in the Christian congregations.

Glory be to the Father, Alleluia. Glory be to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.[1]

The names of some authors of new psalms of this sort are known. Athenogenes, a martyr of the time of Septimius Severus, was the author of a psalm, still famous in the fourth century for the remarkable expression of faith in the Holy Ghost which it contained.[2] The fragment of Muratori testifies that Marcion, in the second half of the second century, put in circulation a book of psalms of his own way of thinking. S. Dionysius of Alexandria (d. 265) speaks in praise of "the numerous psalms, so dear to a vast number of the faithful," composed by Nepos, an Egyptian bishop of the first half of the third century.[3] Valentine, a gnostic of the middle of the second century, had also composed psalms, which were known to Tertullian.[4] Bardesanes, about A.D. 200, was the author of a collection of 150 psalms, which were widely used in Syriac-speaking churches; it was an entire psalter.[5]

Thus in the second and third centuries an original Christian lyric poetry was developed. In the fourth century the Donatists and Arians made use of similar psalms in order to propagate their doctrines. Arius composed to new melodies "songs for sailors," and "songs for travellers," which "insinuated his pernicious teachings into simple hearts through the charm of their music".[6] It was quite enough to discourage the Catholic Church, which resolved to confine itself to the "psalms of David" alone. The metrical hymns of S. Gregory Nazianzen were never honoured with a place in the liturgy. By that time, the second half of the fourth century, the *psalmi idiotici* or "private psalms" had been banished from Catholic liturgical use. Yet they have not entirely perished. The beautiful evening psalm—"O blessed Jesu Christ, joyful Light, etc."—still forms part of the canonical office of the Greek Church. The morning psalm—*Gloria in excelsis*—banished from the office of Lauds, found, before the sixth century, a place in the Roman *Ordo Missae*.

The vigil office, which originally was peculiar to the observ-

[1] See the Greek text in Harnack, *Geschichte der altchr. Litt.* (1893), t. I. p. 467, and in Dom Leclercq, art. *Antiphonaire* in *Dict. Arch. Chrêt.* t. I. pp. 2441-3, where he gives a very interesting comment on the text.

[2] S. Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto*, 73.

[3] Euseb. *H.E.* VII. 24, 4: πολλῆς ψαλμῳδίας.

[4] Tertull. *De carne Christi*, XVII. 20. Cf. *Philosophum.* VI. 37, and also, especially, V. 1.

[5] Sozom. *H.E.* III. 16. [6] Socrat. *H.E.* VI. 8; Philostorg. *H.E.* II. 2.

ances of Sunday, was early introduced into the observance of the festivals of martyrs. Every anniversary of a martyr was observed, like the Lord's Day, with a Eucharistic assembly preceded by a vigil. The antiquity of these anniversaries is attested by a document of the year 155: I mean the encyclical letter of the faithful at Smyrna, announcing the martyrdom of S. Polycarp their bishop. In it we find mentioned, as something already sanctioned by custom, the idea of celebrating the *natale* of a martyr by the assembly of the faithful at the place where his body reposes.[1] It is the same custom to which allusion is made in the "Passion of S. Cyprian". The saint being imprisoned within the house of the governor, the Christian people kept watch all night before the door, *ante fores principis excubabat.* It was like keeping the vigil of a martyr by anticipation: *concessit ei tunc divina bonitas vere digno, ut Dei populus etiam in sacerdotis passione vigilaret.*[2] And the author of the "Passion of S. Saturninus of Toulouse" has described this custom in excellent terms, writing thus: "The anniversaries of the days on which the martyrs were crowned in Heaven we celebrate by vigils and by a Mass": *Illos dies, quibus in Dominici Nominis confessione luctantes, beatoque obitu regnis cælestibus renascentes . . . coronantur, vigiliis, hymnis, ac sacramentis etiam solemnibus honoramus.*[3] These vigils of martyrs were not celebrated in city churches, but outside the walls, in the cemetery where the martyr was buried.[4]

And the Sundays and the anniversaries of the martyrs were not the only solemnities which in the early Church had their vigils—*nocturnae convocationes*—as Tertullian calls them.[5] The "station days" were added to them at an early date. Just as the Jews fasted "twice in the week," so did the Christians. The *Didache*, at the end of the first century, already mentions these two fasting days. The "Shepherd" of Hermas,

[1] *Martyrium Polycarpi*, XVIII. 8 (ed. Funk, p. 336).

[2] Pont. *Vita Cypriani*, 15.

[3] Ruinart, *Acta sincera*, p. 109. Cf. *Concil. Carth.* III. (A.D. 397) can. 47: *Liceat legi passiones martyrum quum anniversarii dies eorum celebrantur.* (Mansi, t. III. p. 891).

[4] Constantini Imp. Epist. in Eusebius, *Vita Constant.* II. 40: τοὺς τόπους δὶ τοῖς σώμασι τῶν μαρτύρων τετίμηνται. Cf. *ibid.* IV. 23; and *H.E.* VII. 11, 11; 13, 3.

[5] Tertull. *Ad uxorem*, II. 4. He is discussing the case of a Pagan husband of a Christian wife: *Quis sinat conjugem suam . . . circuire? Quis nocturnis convocationibus, si ita oportuerit, a latere suo adimi libenter feret? Quis denique solemnibus Paschae abnoctantem securus sustinebit?* He also in another passage speaks of *cœtus antelucani* (*Apologet.* 2).

about A.D. 140, also speaks of them, and gives them for the first time the title of "stations" (στατιών). In the third century the stations on Wednesday and Friday were a matter of Catholic custom.[1] And every station involved a vigil. It was during a Friday vigil that S. Athanasius was attacked in the church of S. Theonas, on the night between the 8th and 9th of February, A.D. 356.[2]

II.

Sunday vigils, station vigils, vigils in cemeteries, each comprising a triple office—evening, night, and morning: the literature of the first three centuries affords no trace of any other assemblies for public prayer than these. We say "public prayer," for most assuredly these vigils formed but one part of Christian prayer: viz. solemn prayer, prayer in common, presided over by the bishop and his clergy. Each one of the faithful, in the retirement of his own dwelling, was not only at liberty, but required, to pray. This private prayer included at least prayer in the morning and in the evening. Tertullian speaks of it as a natural duty: "*Omni die quis dubitet prosternere se Deo, vel prima saltem oratione qua lucem ingreditur*". He makes of it an exercise which no one is at liberty to neglect: "*legitimis orationibus quae sine ulla admonitione debentur, ingressu lucis et noctis*".[3] We shall see that the faithful added sometimes, in their zeal, prayer at the third, sixth, and ninth hour of the day. But all these exercises were purely private, and quite distinct from the assemblies in which the community of the faithful met together, whether in a church within the city, or outside its walls, at the tomb of a martyr, to observe a solemn vigil.

Thus matters stood until the dawn of the fourth century. But at that point we see the conditions of public prayer undergoing a change. The era of Constantine begins: a new state of things, both materially and socially, produces new developments in regard to liturgy.

For, in fact, the fourth century witnessed the birth of Christian ecclesiastical architecture. The poor and narrow limits within which Christian worship was so long confined, owing to

[1] *Doctr. Apost.* VIII. 1; Herm. *Similitud.* V. 1 and 2; Tertull. *De jejun.* 14; *Ad uxor.* II. 4; *De orat.* 19.

[2] S. Athan. *Apol. de fuga*, 24: Νὺξ μὲν γὰρ ἤδη ἦν, καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τινες ἐπαννύχιζον προσδοκωμένης συνάξεως: "certain of the faithful were keeping vigil all night, in preparation for the Eucharistic assembly".

[3] *De oratione*, 23 and 25.

the smallness of the earliest churches, such as those of Mount Syon at Jerusalem, or the old churches of S. Theonas at Alexandria and S. Theophilus at Antioch, were suddenly expanded in accordance with the magnificence of the basilicas of the age of Constantine, such as the "*Basilica Aurea*" of S. John Lateran, the "*Dominicum*" of Alexandria, the "*Anastasis*" of Jerusalem, the church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople, and many others. What religious joy must these beautiful buildings have inspired in the hearts of the faithful! At Alexandria they were so impatient to begin their assemblies in the "*Dominicum*" that, in the midst of Lent, A.D. 354, they implored their bishop, S. Athanasius, to open it for worship, though it was not yet consecrated, or even completed; nor was the saint able to withstand their entreaties.[1]

And was it only at rare intervals that they were to assemble in such a beautiful house of the Lord? Were its grand and holy aisles to stand silent and prayerless for hours and days together? Were there not pious souls ready to carry on there a never-ceasing service of prayer?

True, one could no longer reckon upon the whole body of the faithful. With increased numbers the Christian community had been far from growing more fervent. They were beginning to neglect even the Eucharistic assembly on the Sunday, to the great grief of their pastors.[2] But just in proportion as the Church in extending herself had grown colder, there had taken place within her bosom a drawing together of those souls which were possessed with the greatest zeal and fervour. These consisted of men and women alike, living in the world, and without severing themselves from the ties and obligations of ordinary life, yet binding themselves by private vows or public profession to live in chastity all their life, to fast all the week, and to spend their days in prayer. They were called in Syria *monazontes* and *parthenae*—ascetics and virgins. They formed, as it were, a confraternity, without a hierarchy and without organization, a connecting link between clergy and laity, the ascetics not having any of the powers of the clergy, but only duties more strict than those of the laity. While not as yet cœnobites, they were already *regulars*. In the first half of the fourth century we find these associations of

[1] S. Athan. *Apol. ad Constant.* 14. Of the earlier churches he says: τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ὀλίγων καὶ βραχυτάτων οὐσῶν—"few and very small".

[2] S. Chrys. *Hom. IV in Annam.* 1; *Hom. de Bapt. Chr. et de Epiph.* 1.

ascetics and virgins established in all the great Churches of the East—at Alexandria, Jerusalem, Antioch, Edessa.

Well then, their rule of life imposed on these ascetics and virgins the duty of daily common prayer. They were not to be content with the appointed vigils of the Church, but were to celebrate privately daily vigils. Their life was, in fact, to be a perpetual vigil. In the treatise *De Virginitate*, which has been ascribed to S. Athanasius, but which is in reality an ascetic and perhaps Cappadocian work of about A.D. 370, virgins are told to rise every night for prayer, an office entirely private, but which is nothing else than the vigil office made a daily exercise.[1] A little later S. John Chrysostom, speaking of the ascetics of Antioch, writes: "Scarcely has the cock crowed when they rise. Scarcely have they risen when they chant the psalms of David—and with what sweet harmony! Neither harp nor flute, nor any other instrument of music, can utter a melody comparable to that which is heard to rise, in the silence of that lone hour, from the lips of these holy men. And so with the Angels—with the Angels, I say, —they sing 'O praise the Lord of Heaven,' while we men of the world are still asleep, or, it may be, half awake, and even then thinking of nothing but our own miserable affairs. Not until daybreak do they take any repose, and scarcely has the sun appeared when they once more betake themselves to prayer, and perform their morning service of praise."[2]

S. John Chrysostom and the author of the treatise *De Virginitate* both go on to say that, not only every morning at cock-crow and at the hour of dawn do the ascetics and virgins devote themselves to united psalmody, but yet again, every day, at the third, sixth, and ninth hour.[3] So ancient a custom is it for Christians to consecrate by prayer the times we call *Terce*, *Sext*, and *None*. Christian piety associated the commemoration of Christian mysteries with these three points of time, which divided the day into three stages: at the third hour (9 a.m.), the commemoration of the condemnation of the

[1] Pseudo-Athan. *De Virginitate*, 20 (p. 55). This office consists in reciting, standing up, as many psalms as possible, each psalm being followed by prayer, said kneeling: κατὰ ψαλμὸν εὐχὴ καὶ γονυκλισία ἐπιτελείσθω. After every three psalms comes an *Alleluia*.

[2] S. Chrys. *Hom. XIV in* 1 *Tim.* 4. I have merely given a brief *résumé* of the saint's long description, which will be found curious and interesting if read in its entirety. *P.G.* LXII. 575-7.

[3] S. Chrysostom (loc. cit.) enumerates precisely (1) the psalmody at cock-crow, (2) at dawn (εὐχαὶ ἑωθιναί), (3) terce, (4) sext, (5) none, (6) the psalmody at eveningtide (εὐχαὶ ἑσπεριναί).

Saviour; at the sixth (noon), of His Crucifixion; at the ninth (3 p.m.), of His death.[1] And each of these hours, as it sounded, was to recall to the faithful their obligation, not to allow their hearts to lose their hold on the mysteries of the Faith; as says Tertullian: *Tres istas horas ut insigniores in rebus humanis, quae diem distribuunt, quae publice resonant, ita et solemniores fuisse in orationibus divinis* [intellegamus].[2]

What was for the faithful of the third century nothing more than a counsel,[3] had become for the ascetics and virgins of the fourth century a rule. They prayed at Terce, and Sext, and None, and they united in psalmody at each of these hours, just as they united at the cock-crowing or at the hour of the *lucernarium*.[4]

One step yet remained to be taken: namely, that the Church should offer the hospitality of its aisles to these ascetics and virgins, and that the clergy should undertake the direction of these exercises, which had been originally voluntary and private. This step was taken towards the middle of the fourth century. Sozomen tells us of a Syrian bishop, Zeno of

[1] S. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VII. 7 (ed. Stählin, t. II. pp. 30, 31); S. Cypr. *De Dom. Orat.* 34. These subjects are dwelt upon frequently: see the passages quoted by Von der Goltz, pp. 101-13.

[2] Tertull. *De jejun.* 10. S. Epiphanius (Haer. XXIX. 9) testifies to the fact of the Jews in his time having morning prayer at dawn, evening prayer at nightfall, and also prayer at noon. This is the allotment of prayer already indicated in Ps. LIV. 18, *Vespere et mane et meridie narrabo et annunciabo: et exaudiet vocem meam.* The passage (Ps. CXVIII. 164), *Septies in die laudem dixi Tibi*, merely gives expression to a mystical number. Cf. IV. Reg. (2nd of Kings) v. 10, and Prov. XXIV. 16: and see Cassian, *Instit. Cœnob.* III. 4: "*Qui typus, licet ex occasione videatur inventus, et recenti memoria . . . statutus appareat*". It will nevertheless not have failed to have a sensible influence on the distribution of the canonical hours of prayer.

[3] Tertull. *De orat.* 25:—

"Non erit otiosa extrinsecus observatio etiam horarum quarumdam. Istarum dico communium, quae diei interspatia signant, tertia, sexta, nona. . . . Etsi simpliciter se habeant sine ullius observationis praecepto, bonum tamen sit aliquam constituere praesumptionem qua et orandi admonitionem constringat, et quasi lege ad tale munus extorqueat a negotiis interdum. . . . Exceptis utique legitimis orationibus, quae sine ulla admonitione debentur ingressu lucis et noctis."

"The outward observance of certain hours will also be no vain thing. Of those common hours, I mean, which mark out the periods of the day, the third, sixth, and ninth. . . . Although we simply find them in being, without any Christian precept as to their observance, let it be granted a goodly thing to establish some such rule, which may impress on us an admonition to pray, and exact from time to time, amidst our business, the performance of that task. . . . Not by any means including those lawfully established prayers, which without need of admonition we owe to God at the beginning of the day and of the night."

[4] Pseudo-Athan. 12 (p. 46); S. Greg. Nyss. *Vita Macrinae* (*P.G.* XLVI. p. 976); S. Aug. *De Civ. Dei*, XXII. 8 (ed. Hoffmann, t. II. p. 599).

Maiuma, who died, a hundred years old, about A.D. 380, that he made a point of never failing to be present at the daily morning and evening service.[1] It is the most ancient testimony as to the existence of a daily public exercise of psalmody, in the morning, at cock-crow, and in the evening, at sunset. A similar testimony is to be found in a document of Syrian origin, the second book of the Apostolic Constitutions, where it is made a part of the bishop's duty to invite, and even to urge, his people to be regular in attendance at Church in the morning and evening of each day. So, every day, the people are to assemble themselves in the churches at dawn and in the evening, for psalmody and prayer—in the morning is to be said Ps. LXII: "*Deus, Deus meus, ad Te de luce vigilo*"; and in the evening Ps. CXL.—"*Domine, clamavi ad Te*".[2]

If this custom had its birth in the East, it was not long before it propagated itself in all parts of the Church. As early as 360 S. Hilary writes: "*Progressus Ecclesiae in matutinorum et vespertinorum hymnorum delectatione maximum misericordiae Dei signum est. Dies in orationibus Dei inchoatur, dies in hymnis Dei clauditur.*"[3] S. Basil introduced it at Cæsarea (A.D. 375), in spite of the opposition of a party among the clergy, who were disturbed in their old customs by this liturgical innovation.[4]

[1] Soz. *H.E.* VII. 28: "ἑωθινῶν ἢ ἑσπερινῶν ὕμνων".

[2] *Constit. Apost.* II. 59 (ed. Funk, p. 171). This passage is derived from the *Didascalia Apost.* II. 59 (Funk, p. 170). But the *Didascalia*, which is of the third century, only contemplates the assembling of the faithful on Sunday, and says nothing of any *daily* morning or evening assembly. Here we see the change which has taken place by the fourth century. As regards the distribution of the psalter over the various days, and in accordance with the spiritual wants of the Christian, read the Epistle of S. Athanasius, *Ad Marcellinum*, especially 22 and 23.

[3] S. Hil. *In Ps.* LXIV. 12: "The increasing delight of the Church in the morning and evening psalmody is a notable sign of the mercy of God. The day begins with prayer to God, and ends with His praise." Cf. S. Aug. *Conf.* V. 9:—

"Bis in die, mane et vespere, ad ecclesiam Tuam sine ulla intermissione venientis, non ad vanas fabulas et aniles loquacitates, sed ut Te audiret in Tuis sermonibus, et Tu illam in suis orationibus."

"Of her (S. Monica) who came twice every day, morning and evening, to Thy Church, without ever failing, not for vain tales and old wives' gossip, but that she might hear Thee in Thy words, and that Thou mightest hear her in her prayers."

And *Epist.* XXIX. 11:—

"Acta sunt vespertina, quae cotidie solent, nobisque cum episcopo recedentibus, fratres eodem loco hymnos dixerunt, non parva multitudine utriusque [sexus] ad obscuratum diem manente atque psallente."

"The evening service was performed, in accordance with daily custom, and when we, with the bishop, retired, the brethren in the same place recited psalms: no small multitude of either sex remaining and chanting with them, until it grew dark."

[4] S. Basil, *Ep.* CCVII. 2-4.

At Milan, S. Ambrose, a personal friend of S. Basil's, having become bishop in 374, introduced the Oriental custom of daily vigils. "*Hoc in tempore*," writes Paulinus, his biographer, "*primum . . . vigiliæ in Ecclesia Mediolanensi celebrari cœperunt.*"[1] At Constantinople, S. John Chrysostom imported it from Antioch, and imposed it on his clergy, and an old author tells us that they were very much put out at not being allowed to sleep all the night as had been their wont.[2] At Jerusalem, where the ascetics and virgins were more numerous than anywhere else, this daily public office assumed a still greater solemnity.

A pilgrim, a Spanish lady, who visited the holy places about A.D. 385-88, and whose travelling-journal has come down to us,[3] has left us a detailed description of the daily service of prayer in the Anastasis, the great church of Jerusalem.[4]

Here is her account of the vesper office, which she places at about 4 p.m. :—

"At the tenth hour—the hour which they call here *licinicon*, and which we call *lucernare*—the people crowd into the Anastasis. All the candles are lit, and the illumination is brilliant. Then they chant the evening psalms (*psalmi lucernares*)—psalms sung antiphonally at great length.[5] At the appointed moment, word is sent to the bishop. He comes down, and seats himself on his lofty throne, with the priests in their places round him. When the chanting of the psalms and antiphons is finished, the bishop rises, and stands upright in front of the balustrade of the sanctuary, while a deacon reads out the names of all those who are to be prayed for, and the *pisinni*, or children, of whom there are great numbers, respond at each name '*Kyrie eleison*'. You hear as it were the sound of innumerable voices. The deacon having finished the list, the bishop recites a prayer. It is the prayer for all the congregation; both the faithful and the catechumens have part in it. Then the bishop recites the prayer for the catechumens, and these, at a sign given them by the deacon, bow their heads while

[1] Paulin. *Vita Ambr.* 13. [2] Pallad. *Dialog. hist.* 5.

[3] J. F. Gamurrini, *S. Silviae Aquitanae peregrinatio ad loca sancta* (Rome, 1887). But my quotations are from the edition of P. Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana* (Vienna, 1898). In 1903 Dom. Férotin proved that the *Peregrinatio* should not be attributed to S. Silvia of Aquitaine, but to a Spanish virgin, Etheria. M. Karl Meister has since (1909) endeavoured to assign the *Peregrinatio* to the sixth century: but I do not think he has proved his thesis. See the *Revue Biblique*, 1910, pp. 432-45.

[4] *Peregrin.* 24 (Geyer, pp. 71-74).

[5] I shall recur later on to this important detail.

the bishop gives the *benedictionem super catechuminos*. Lastly, the bishop says the prayer for the faithful, who in their turn, at the sign given by the deacon, bow down themselves for the episcopal benediction. So ends the office: everyone departs, after kissing the bishop's hand—*et sic fit Missa Anastasi*." [1]

In this short description of vespers we distinguish two parts—the psalmody, and the prayers. The latter form the conclusion of the office: they are recited by the bishop. Between the psalmody and the prayers comes a short litany, said by a deacon, and responded to by the children. The psalmody forms the main body of the office. Note that to this evening office there are assigned certain specially appointed psalms, the *psalmi lucernares*, just as for the morning office we shall find other psalms appointed, the *psalmi matutini*. Doubtless we may conclude that in each case they are psalms whose matter has relation to the end and to the beginning of the day respectively.

Next, we have the description of the nocturns:—

"Every night, before cock-crow, the doors of the Anastasis are opened, and the *monazontes* and the *parthenæ* come in; nor only these, but lay-folk besides, men and women, who desire to keep vigil (*laici qui volunt maturius vigilare*). From that time to sunrise they sing psalms: [2] and at the end of each psalm a prayer is recited. These prayers are said by priests and deacons, who are appointed for each day, to the number of two or three, to come and conduct the office of the *monazontes*. But at the moment when the day dawns they begin singing the morning psalms (*matutinos ymnos*). At this time the bishop arrives with his clergy, and standing *within* the balustrade he says the prayers, *pro omnibus*, *pro catechumenis*, *pro fidelibus*. He then retires, every one having gone up to

[1] The office of the Anastasis has attached to it two prayers: one *ante Crucem*, the other *post Crucem*. The Anastasis being the sanctuary which encloses the Holy Sepulchre, the sanctuary of the Cross, wherein is preserved the True Cross, is on one side of it. By *ante Crucem* is meant the outer part of the sanctuary of the Anastasis, and by *post Crucem* the inner part or chancel.

[2] "*Dicuntur ymni et psalmi responduntur, similiter et antiphonæ, et cata singulos ymnos fit oratio.*" In this passage, as continually in ancient authors, *ymnus* or *hymnus* is synonymous with *psalmus*. When the *Peregrinatio* says *dicuntur ymni*, it means, I believe, psalms recited as a solo; and by *psalmi responduntur* it indicates the refrains sung by the faithful all together, which, as we have already seen, closed or interrupted the solo. By *antiphonæ* it means psalmody sung by two choirs alternately, a thing of which we shall have more to say by and by. Cf. S. Aug. *Epist.* XXIX. 11: "*Pomeridiano die major quam ante meridiem adfuit multitudo; et usque ad horam qua cum episcopo egredercmur, legebatur alternatim et psallebatur: nobisque egressis duo psalmi lecti sunt*".

kiss his hand, and receive his benediction. It being now daylight (*jam luce*), the congregation is dismissed."

In this description, again, the following points are to be distinguished. First comes the nocturn, composed of psalms, each of which is followed by a prayer. It is the same order as that noticed by Cassian in the monasteries of Egypt, where the number of psalms recited was twelve. This nocturn constitutes the daily vigil. Then, at daybreak (*ubi cœperit lucescere*), comes the office of lauds, at which the bishop attends, as he had done at vespers. Thus a distinction is drawn in favour of vespers and lauds, as if these offices, which identify themselves with the morning and evening prayer, had a character of obligation which the nocturn does not possess. In fact, the nocturn, or, to speak more accurately, the daily vigil, is an office attended only by a few of the faithful in addition to those who make profession of asceticism. But there is a crowded congregation at vespers, and, as it would seem, at lauds also. On Sunday, however, the nocturn is the traditional office of the Sunday vigil: on that day there is a crowd present at the nocturn—"as great a multitude as if it were Easter" says the *Peregrinatio*.[1]

Then, for sext and none:—

"At the sixth hour the *monazontes* and the *parthenæ* again assemble in the basilica of the Anastasis, and the psalms are sung.[2] This being duly signified to the bishop, he comes, and, without sitting down, remaining standing within the balustrade, as in the morning, he recites the prayers as before. He then retires, everyone having gone up to kiss his hand. At the ninth hour the same office is performed as at the sixth." The *Peregrinatio* says nothing of any assembly for psalmody at the third hour.

Such was the daily office when introduced, along with the

[1] Nicetas, Bishop of Remesiana, about A.D. 400, in his sermon *De Vigiliis*, 3 (ed. Burn, 1905, p. 58), writes: "*Nec sane onerosum vel difficile videri debet etiam delicatis corporibus, in septimana duarum noctium, id est Sabbati atque Dominici, portionem aliquam Dei ministerio deputare*". He is astonished that some Christians should find the office of the vigils exacting, when reduced to this extent (Saturday and Sunday only): "*Mirari me fateor esse aliquos qui Sacras vigilias, tam spiritali opere fructuosas, orationibus, hymnis, lectionibusque fecundas, aut superfluas æstimant aut otiosas, aut, id quod est deterius, importunas*" (*ibid.* I. p. 56).

[2] "*Dicuntur psalmi et antiphonae.*" We no longer have to do with psalms recited with a response. The reason is, no doubt, that this office of sext and none is attended only by the ascetics, who, knowing the psalms by heart, could sing them throughout: while all that the good lay-folk were able to do was to come in with their refrain.

ascetics and virgins, into the public service of the basilicas. Do we wish to see how it was combined there with the ancient observance of the Sunday vigil? The *Peregrinatio* shall tell us:—

"On the seventh day, that is to say, on Sunday, before cock-crow, a multitude, as great as the basilica can contain, as numerous as if it were Easter, assembles at the Anastasis, in front of the church, by the light of certain lanterns. The faithful begin coming even long before the time, fearing to arrive after the time of cock-crowing. They sit down, and psalms are sung,[1] each psalm being followed by a prayer said by a priest or deacon, for there are always priests and deacons present, '*parati ad vigilias*'. It is the custom that the doors of the basilica should not be opened before the first cock-crowing. But as soon as this is heard, the bishop comes, all the doors are thrown open, the crowd enters: the basilica sparkles with innumerable lights. When the people have come in, a priest says a psalm, to which the congregation respond;[2] after the psalm, a prayer. Then a deacon says a second psalm, followed by a prayer. Then some sort of clerk says a third psalm, followed by a third prayer. Then follows the commemoration of those to be prayed for, with the three prayers, just as before at vespers. These being ended, the censers are brought in; the basilica is filled with their perfume. At this point the bishop takes the Gospel-book, and reads from it,[3] after which he blesses the faithful, and the office is over. The bishop retires; the faithful go home to rest. But the *monazontes* remain in the basilica until daybreak, and sing psalms, each psalm being followed by a prayer said by some priest or deacon. Some of the laity also remain, whoever may wish to do so, whether men or women."[4]

[1] "*Dicuntur ymni, necnon et antiphonae, et fiunt orationes cata singulos ymnos vel antiphonas.*"

[2] "*Dicet psalmum quicunque de presbyteris, et respondent omnes: post hoc fit oratio.*" Here we have again the psalm sung as a solo, with a response.

[3] Here, at last, is a lesson. But at Jerusalem, in the basilica of the Anastasis, the same lesson was always read on Sunday morning, viz. the account of the Saviour's Resurrection: "*legit resurrectionem Domnus Episcopus ipse . . . Lecto evangelio exit episcopus, et ducitur cum ymnis ad Crucem,*" i.e. he goes into the sanctuary of the True Cross, adjacent to the Anastasis—"*et omnis populus cum illo. Ibi denuo dicitur unus psalmus, et fit oratio. Item benedicit fideles et fit missa.*"

[4] "*Psalmi dicuntur et antiphonae usque ad lucem, et cata singulos psalmos vel antiphonas fit oratio.*" The *Peregrinatio* goes on to say, with regard to this psalmody which follows that at which the bishop has assisted: "*Vicibus cotidie presbiteri et diacones vigilant ad Anastasim cum populo. De laicis etiam viris et mulieribus, si qui volunt, usque ad lucem loco sunt. Si qui nolunt, revertuntur in domos suas et reponent se dormito.*"

In this full and graphic description one sees clearly the superposition of one liturgy on another: first, that which belonged to the whole body of the faithful, then the liturgy of ascetics and virgins. And these two liturgies succeed one another on Sunday, in such wise that the first is of obligation, attended by the whole clergy and all the faithful, while the second, though it follows immediately, remains optional, and is attended only by the more fervent among the laity, and a few of the clergy, who preside over it.

The daily observance of vigils was not the only innovation due to the influence of the ascetics and virgins. To them the Church owed also a thorough transformation of her psalmody.

We have already seen what the early chant of the psalms was like: but one cannot bear in mind too carefully the description of it given by S. Augustine when speaking of S. Athanasius: "He caused the reader to use such slight inflexions of the voice, that he seemed to say the psalms rather than to sing them": such was the most ancient method. But if a chant of this kind sufficed to fix the attention of a congregation of limited numbers, closely packed together, and to fill a small church, such could not be the case when there was a great crowd of people in a vast basilica. Under such conditions the slender voice of a single reader was unable to make itself heard above the confused murmur of the people: "*quantum laboratur in ecclesia ut fiat silentium quum lectiones leguntur*," observes a bishop of the fourth century.[1] In congregations which the same author compares to a tossing and murmuring sea[2] there was need for a chant of greater power—powerful itself as the sound of mighty waters. And so, for the psalm said as a solo with a response (*psalmus responsorius*) was substituted psalmody rendered by a choir—"*antiphona*".

Here then there is no more solo singing: the whole congregation takes part in the chanting, being arranged in two choirs or "systems," of which one sings the first verse of the psalm, the other the second, and so on.[3] What is called "*antiphona*"

[1] S. Ambros. *In Ps.* 1 *Enarr.* 9.

[2] *Hexaemeron*, III. 15.

[3] Nicet. Remes. *De Psalm. bono*, 13 (Burn, p. 80).

"*Omnes quasi ex uno ore eundemque psalmorum sonum, eandemque vocis modulationem aequaliter proferamus: qui autem aequare se non potest ceteris, melius est ei tacere, aut lenta voce psallere, quam clamosa voce omnibus perstrepere; sic enim et ministerii impleat*

"Let us all, as with one mouth, utter the same sound of the words of the psalms, and the same inflection of the voice: but if any man cannot keep in with the rest, it is better that he should remain silent, or chant in a subdued voice, than with loud clamour to

means the chanting of two choirs which respond to one another, verse by verse: so S. Isidore describes it, as S. Basil had before him.[1] S. Isidore adds that this kind of psalmody came from the Greeks, and this is fully borne out by other testimonies, which with one consent agree in attributing to Diodorus the first introduction of antiphonal chanting in the Church of Antioch.

If we may believe Theodore of Mopsuestia, who was well placed for knowing accurately how things were at Antioch, having passed his youth in the brotherhood presided over by Diodorus, antiphonal chanting was borrowed by the latter from the Syriac-speaking Churches.[2] S. Basil confirms this testimony, writing that in his time (A.D. 375) the churches of the Euphrates valley performed their psalmody in two choirs, like the Greek churches of Palestine and Syria.[3] At Antioch, somewhat later, they desired to make out a more native and a more glorious origin: they said that antiphonal chanting dated back to the time of S. Ignatius, who, having seen in a vision the angels chanting in this fashion the praises of the Holy Trinity, realized the heavenly vision in his church at Antioch.[4]

Being thus introduced at Antioch at the same time as the daily observance of the Divine office, the antiphonal chanting of the psalms soon established itself in all the great churches of the East. S. Basil, in the same letter which we have already repeatedly quoted, defends himself against the criticism of certain of the clergy, who charged him with having introduced a singularity of his own devising into the church of Cæsarea by establishing there this mode of chanting the psalms antiphonally.[5] "This new psalmody," he writes, "has

officium, et psallenti fraternitati non obstrepat. Non enim omnium est habere vocem flexibilem vel canoram."

make a din in the ears of all: for thus he at the same time fulfils his duty in the service of God, and hinders not his brethren in their chanting. And indeed it is not everyone that possesses a flexible and tuneful voice."

[1] S. Basil, *Epist.* CCVII. 3: "διχῇ διανεμηθέντες ἀντιψάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις". Note that S. Basil, like the author of the *Peregrinatio*, reports that it is not *all* the psalms that are thus sung antiphonally: a good number of them are sung "with response": "ἔπειτα πάλιν ἐπιτρέψαντες ἐνὶ κατάρχειν τῶν μέλους οἱ λοιποὶ ὑπηχοῦσι" (*ibid.*). S. Isid. *Etymol.* VI. 19, 7: "*Antiphona ex Graeco interpretatur vox reciproca, duobus scilicet choris alternatim psallentibus ordine commutato, sive de uno ad unum: quod genus psallendi Graeci invenisse traduntur*". The word *antiphona* came, of course, in time to bear a different meaning.

[2] Theodor. apud Nicet. *Thesaur.* v. 30.

[3] S. Basil, *Epist.* CCVII. 3. [4] Socrat. *H.E.* VI. 8.

[5] So Nicetas, *De psalm. bono*, 2 (ed. Burn, p. 68): "*Scio nonnullos non solum in nostris sed etiam in orientalibus esse partibus, qui superfluam, nec minus congruentem divinae religioni estiment psalmorum et hymnorum decantationem*".

nothing singular about it, for at this very day (A.D. 375) it is practised in all the Churches of God. The clergy who are disposed to break with me on this ground must on the same account break with the Churches of Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and the Euphrates valley." We find antiphonal chanting established at Constantinople in the time of S. John Chrysostom, at Jerusalem at the date of the *Peregrinatio*, at Milan in the time of S. Ambrose and by his means.

More than this, the antiphonal chant manifests itself all at once as a melody of varied and pathetic character. The psalm-chant, having begun by being a simple recitative, assumed the form of an elaborate piece of music. In 387, when Flavian, Bishop of Antioch, went to Constantinople to beg for mercy for the inhabitants of his city, who were threatened with the anger of Theodosius, in order the more effectually to touch the heart of the Emperor, he asked the young singers who were wont to furnish music at the royal table to sing the psalmody of supplication used at Antioch. These mournful and supplicating melodies were, it is evident, works of art. Theodosius was overcome by the expressive character of this religious music, which was new to him; tears of emotion fell into the cup which he was holding in his hand.[1] When S. John Chrysostom became Bishop of Constantinople he introduced this music from Antioch into his church, giving the direction of the choirs into the hands of a eunuch of the Empress's household, holding some such position as the chief musician of the court.[2]

Antiphonal chanting took a similar development at Milan to that which we have remarked at Antioch. S. Ambrose, in order to increase the attraction of the daily vigils in his church, caused the psalms to be sung there after the eastern fashion. And this innovation spread rapidly to "almost all the churches of the West".[3] "How have I wept," writes S. Augustine not long after, "at the sound of this psalmody,

[1] Sozom. *H.E.* VII. 23: "ἱκέτευον μελῳδίαις τισὶν ὀλοφυρτικῶς πρὸς τὰς λιτὰς κεχρημένοι".

[2] Socrat. *H.E.* VI. 8. Note, nevertheless, that the music conducted by this eunuch was only to be heard at the Saturday and Sunday vigils.

[3] S. Aug. *Conf.* IX. 7: "Tunc (A.D. 385) hymni et psalmi ut canerentur secundum morem Orientalium partium, ne populus maeroris taedio contabesceret, institutum est, et ex illo in hodiernum retentum, multis jam ac paene omnibus gregibus tuis et per cetera orbis imitantibus". And Paulin, *Vita Ambr.* 13: "Hoc in tempore primum antiphonae, hymni ac vigiliae in ecclesia Mediolanensi celebrari coeperunt. Cujus celebritatis devotio usque in hodiernum diem non solum in eadem ecclesia, verum per omnes paene Occidentis provincias remanet".

moved by the voices that rang so sweetly through the church!": "*Quantum flevi . . . suave sonantis ecclesiae tuae vocibus commotus acriter in hymnis et canticis tuis! Voces illae influebant auribus meis, et eliquabatur veritas in cor meum, et exaestuabat inde affectus pietatis, et currebant lacrimae, et bene mihi erat cum eis.*" [1] Yet the same Augustine is inclined to consider this elaborate musical rendering of the psalmody as a disturbing invasion of Art into the ancient and severe simplicity of worship: "Pardon my severity if it is a fault—I have often wished I could banish from my ears, and from the ears of the Church herself, all the sweet melody of those chants to which the psalms of David are now sung". And it is in this connexion that he recalls the direction of S. Athanasius, that the reader "should make use of such moderate inflexions of the voice as to seem to say the psalms rather than to chant them," adding that it is safer to follow Athanasius.[2]

It is beyond our province to inquire as to what this musical rendering of the psalmody may have been like, whether at Antioch or at Milan. We have only to remark the scruple with which the mind of S. Augustine was disturbed. He regretted the primitive simplicity of psalmody, forgetting, it would seem, that such simplicity was no longer suited to the pomp of Christian worship in its triumph. Christian art of every sort was budding forth: architecture, painting, ceremonial. For these new multitudes of the faithful there was needed the attraction and the prestige of a powerful and

[1] S. Aug. *Conf.* IX. 6.

[2] *Conf.* X. 33.

"Erro nimia severitate, sed valde interdum ut melos omnes cantilenarum suavium, quibus Davidicum psalterium frequentatur, ab auribus meis removeri velim atque ipsius Ecclesiae, tutiusque mihi videtur quod de Alexandrino episcopo Athanasio saepe dictum commemini. . . . Verum tamen quum reminiscor lacrimas meas, quas fudi ad cantus Ecclesiae in primordiis recuperatae fidei meae, et nunc ipsum quod moveor, non cantu, sed rebus quae cantantur, quum liquida voce et convenientissima modulatione cantantur, magnam instituti hujus utilitatem rursus agnosco."

"I err, it may be, on the side of too great severity, but sometimes I would that all that melody of sweet chants, wherewith the psalms of David are now performed, were removed from my ears and those of the Church; and that seems to me the safer course which I remember was often spoken of by Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria. . . . And yet when I remember those tears which, in the first fervour of my revived faith, I shed at the sound of the chants of the Church, and how I am moved even now, not by the chant, but by the words that are chanted, when they are sung with sweetness of voice, and inflexions most excellently suited to them —I recognize the great advantage of this method."

As regards the opinion of S. Athanasius, see his Epistle to Marcellinus, 27-9.

ornate choral music, on a level with the eloquence of a S. John Chrysostom or a S. Ambrose—or, indeed, of S. Augustine himself.

III.

The liturgical work of the fourth century is accomplished. It has consisted in the organization of a double service of psalmody for every day: on the one hand, the nocturnal *cursus*, comprising vespers, the night-office at cock-crow, and lauds in the early morning; on the other, the diurnal course, comprising psalmody at the three hours of terce, sext, and none.

But now, dating from the reign of Theodosius and the time when Catholicism became the social religion of the Roman world, comes the moment when a deep cleavage in religious society manifests itself. These ascetics and virgins, who till now have lived mingled with the common body of the faithful, abandon the world and go forth into the wilderness. The cœnobitic life establishes itself as a distinct Christian society outside the body of Catholic secular folk.

From this secession arises a double *ordo psallendi*, that of the clergy, and that of the monks.

In no church shall we find the office as it was celebrated in the Anastasis at Jerusalem at the time of the *Peregrinatio:* terce, sext, and none form no part of the public Office of the clergy. "We desire," says a constitution of Justinian, dated 529, "that the whole clergy established in each church do themselves sing vespers, nocturns, and lauds." "For," adds the Emperor, "it is absurd that the clergy, on whom rests the duty of executing the psalmody, should hire people to sing in their stead; and that the large number of lay-folk, who for the good of their souls show diligence in coming to church to take part in the psalmody, should be in a position to see that the clergy who are specially appointed for that office do not fulfil it." And the constitution accordingly enacts that the clergy of each church shall be required by the bishop of the place and the provost of the particular church to take part in the psalmody: those who show themselves negligent of this service are to be expelled from the clerical body.[1] Thus we see

[1] *Cod. Just.* I. 3, 41 (ed. Krüger, p. 28): "Ad hoc sancimus, ut omnes clerici per singulas ecclesias constituti per seipsos et nocturnas et matutinas et vespertinas preces cantent, neve in consumendis tantummodo rebus ecclesiasticis clerici esse videantur. . . . Absurdum etenim est, quum ipsis necessitas incumbat, scriptos (γραπτούς) eorum loco canere. Nam si multi laici, ut animae suae consul-

that in the Greek-speaking East, at the beginning of the sixth century, each church had its *nocturnal* course: viz. the offices of evening, night, and early morning—at which the faithful still loved to assist, and over which it was the duty of the clergy to preside—for this is the service for which they are paid: but no public *diurnal* course.

The custom in all parts of Gaul was similar.[1] "We ordain," says the Council of Braga in 561, "that there shall be but one and the same *ordo psallendi* for the evening and morning offices: and we reject the monastic uses which it is sought to mingle with those which according to rule obtain in our Churches".[2] It would be impossible more strongly to express the distinction between the monastic and clerical offices. "We ordain," says the 4th Council of Toledo in 633, "that there shall be but one *ordo psallendi* for Spain and Gaul, in the evening and morning offices."[3] Such was the mind of the council of Agde in 506, when it pronounces that there shall be in the Narbonnaise, "just as everywhere else," an office chanted every day in the morning, and also an office chanted every evening, at which the clergy are to assist, with the bishop at their head.[4] If in some churches—as for instance, at Arles, in the time of S. Cæsarius—mention is made of the performance in the cathedral of a diurnal course (terce, sext, and none), we are at the same time duly informed that this monastic exercise

ant, ad sacrosantas ecclesias confluentes, studiosos se circa psalmodiam ostendunt, quemadmodum non absurdum est clericos, qui ad hoc ordinati sunt, munus suum non implere? Quamobrem omnimodo clericos canere jubemus."

[1] See Mabillon, *De cursu Gallicano disquisitio:* in Migne, *P.L.* LXXII. 381 *et seq.*

[2] Mansi, *Concil. Collect.* (Venice, 1759), t. IX. p. 777; Friedberg, *Corpus Juris Canon.* (Leipzig, 1881), t. I. p. 31: "Unus ordo psallendi in matutinis vel vespertinis officiis teneatur, . . . neque monasteriorum consuetudines cum ecclesiastica regula sint permixtae".

[3] Mansi, t. X. p. 616; Friedberg, t. I. p. 31: "Unus igitur ordo orandi atque psallendi nobis per omnem Hispaniam atque Galliam conservetur, unus modus in missarum solemnitatibus, unus in vespertinis matutinisque officiis, nec diversa sit ultra in nobis ecclesiastica consuetudo, qui in una fide continemur et regno".

[4] Mansi, t. VIII. p. 329; Friedberg, t. I. p. 1415: "Et quia convenit ordinem Ecclesiae ab omnibus aequaliter custodiri, studendum est ut, sicut ubique fit, et post antiphonas collectiones per ordinem ab episcopis vel presbyteris dicantur, et hymni matutini vel vespertini diebus omnibus decantentur, et in conclusione matutinarum vel vespertinarum missarum post hymnos capitella de psalmis dicantur, et plebs collecta oratione ad vesperam, ab episcopo cum benedictione dimittatur." We shall recur further on to the liturgical information furnished by the 30th canon of the council of Agde. Compare the description of the psalmody as used in S. Martin's at Tours, given in canon XIX. (18) of the council of Tours in 567.—Mansi, t. IX. p. 796; Maasen, *Concil. Merov.* (1893), p. 127: and combine with this the information given in the *De cursu stellarum* of Gregory of Tours (Arndt's edition of *Mon. Germ.* pp. 870-2).

exists only for the benefit of penitents, or of those of the faithful who are distinguished by an extraordinary degree of fervour.[1]

Such was the *ordo psallendi* of the clergy in the sixth century.

As to the anniversaries of martyrs, to which were now added the anniversaries of translations of martyrs, of saints other than martyrs, and of dedications of churches, it would be an error to suppose, with respect to any such anniversary, that because it is found in martyrologies, as for instance in the so-called martyrology of S. Jerome of the sixth century, it was therefore observed throughout the Christian world: the number of such "Catholic" festivals, the fixed festivals of our Lord or of His Apostles, is as yet very small. They would seem to consist of Christmas, Epiphany, and the festivals of S. James, S. John, SS. Peter and Paul, to which we may add that of S. Stephen.[2] But each church has its own local anniversaries.[3] As a general rule it was at the place where was the "confession" of a saint (i.e. his tomb), or where there was a "memorial," that is to say where some relic of a saint was enshrined, that his *natale* was observed; and so the festival had always some connexion with a certain *place*, just as it had with the *time* when it was originally celebrated in the actual cemetery, *ad corpus*. Hence it is that the monastic communities, such as John Cassian describes, kept no festivals of saints; and it was a new feature in the Benedictine rule that it introduced into the monastic liturgy the *natalitia Sanctorum*, which had

[1] *Vita Cæsarii*, 13 (Bolland. *Acta SS. Aug.* t. VI. p. 67): "De profectibus cunctorum sollicitus et providus pastor, statim instituit ut cotidie Tertiae Sextaeque et Nonae opus in S. Stephani basilica clerici cum hymnis cantarent, ut siquis forte saecularium vel poenitentium sanctum opus exsequi ambiret, absque excusatione aliqua cotidiano interesse posset officio". Gregory of Tours attributed to one of his predecessors in that See, Injuriosus (*d.* 545), the initiation there of the custom of celebrating terce and sext: "Hic instituit Tertiam et Sextam in ecclesia dici, quod modo in Dei nomine perseverat" (*Hist. Franc.* x. 31).

[2] Greg. Nyss. *In laudem fr. Basil I.* Pope Siricius, writing in 385 to Himerius, Bishop of Tarragona (Jaffé, 255), speaks of the "Natalatiis Christi seu Apparitionis, necnon et Apostolorum seu Martyrum festivitatibus". There is as yet no indication of the inclusion of saints who were not martyrs. The first mention of such observance that we know of occurs in Palestine, in regard to S. Hilarion (*d.* 371). See Sozomen, *H.E.* III. 14 (*P.G.* LXVII. 1077). It can therefore no longer be said, as it was by Martene, *De ant. Eccl. rit.* (Rouen, 1700), p. 550, that S. Martin, (*d.* 400) is the earliest instance of a confessor of whom an annual festival was observed.

[3] Sozomen (*H.E.* v. 3), in the fifth century, speaking of two neighbouring localities, Gaza and Maiuma, so close together that they formed but one municipality, but organized, nevertheless, under two independent churches, tells us that these two churches have each their own peculiar anniversaries, just as each has its own bishop and clergy: *Ἑκατέρα ἰδίᾳ ἐπίσκοπον καὶ κλῆρον ἔχει καὶ πανηγύρεις μαρτύρων καὶ μνείας τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς γενομένων ἱερέων.*

hitherto been the peculiar privilege of the ancient Christian churches, rich in local martyrs. Thus the kalendars of churches give the lists of their anniversaries, and at the same time indicate the basilica or shrine where each is celebrated. A kalendar drawn up for the church of Tours by the Bishop Perpetuus (460-90) has been preserved to us by Gregory of Tours. The *natale* of S. John Evangelist was celebrated there in the basilica of S. Martin, that of SS. Peter and Paul in their own basilica; those of S. Martin, S. Brice and S. Hilary in the basilica of S. Martin; of S. Litorius in his own basilica; and the festivals of Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, and Pentecost were kept in the cathedral.[1]

But by this time the *ordo psallendi* of the monks had reached its full development. The monks of Palestine had in this matter exercised a preponderating influence. As for those of Egypt, at all events in the time of John Cassian,[2] their only common exercise was the night office, and that in the archaic form we have already described. They had no *diurnal* course: when once the *antelucanae orationes*, as Cassian in old-fashioned phrase somewhere calls them, were finished, the Egyptian cœnobites went off to their manual labour, and whatever prayers they said in the course of the day were the freewill offering of each individual (*voluntarium munus*).[3] But the monks of Palestine, on their part, had preserved the office in the form in which it was practised by the ascetics and virgins at Jerusalem in the time of the *Peregrinatio:* the night course, comprising vespers (*vespertina solemnitas*) at sunset; nocturns (*nocturna solemnitas*), and also lauds in the early morning: and the diurnal course, comprising terce, sext, and none.[4]

[1] *Hist. Franc.* x. 31: "*De vigiliis.* Natale Domini in Ecclesia. Epiphania in Ecclesia. Natale S. Johannis ad basilicam Domni Martini. Natale S. Petri episcopatus ad ipsius basilicam. Sexto kalendas Aprilis Resurrectio Domini nostri J. C. ad basilicam Domni Martini. Pascha in Ecclesia etc." [Note that the anniversary of our Lord's actual resurrection is kept on 25 March, there being as yet no festival of the Annunciation, A.B.]

[2] Palladius, *Hist. laus.* xxiii. 3 (ed. Preuschen, 1897, p. 84), testifies that the hermits had no common assembly in the church except on the Saturday and Sunday, for the Eucharistic liturgy.

[3] Cass. *Instit.* iii. 2: "Apud illos [Aegyptios] haec officia quae Domino solvere per distinctiones horarum et temporis intervalla cum admonitione compulsoris adigimur, per totum diei spatium jugiter cum operis adjectione spontanee celebrantur. . . . Quamobrem exceptis vespertinis nocturnisque congregationibus, nulla apud eos per diem publica solemnitas absque die Sabbato vel Dominica celebratur, in quibus hora tertia sacrae communionis obtentu conveniunt." So also Sozomen, *H.E.* iii. 14 (*P.G.* lxvii. 1072).

[4] Cass. iii. 3: "In Palestinae vel Mesopotamiae monasteriis ac totius Orientis, supra dictarum horarum solemnitatem, trinis psalmis cotidie finiuntur".

In the meantime the monks of Bethlehem had added one more office to the daily course.[1] The institution of it was not of early date, since John Cassian witnessed its introduction at the time of his stay at Bethlehem, about A.D. 382. Its origin was to the last degree prosaic. At Bethlehem, Cassian tells us, the monks were wont to go and take some repose when the offices of nocturns and lauds were ended: *reliquas horas refectioni corporum deputatas a majoribus nostris invenimus.* But it came to pass that the monks took advantage of this indulgence to spend the morning in bed, and only aroused themselves when summoned to terce. An end was therefore put to this laxity by the appointment of an office to be said at sunrise, comprising three psalms, and thus similar to the office at the other three day-hours. Such was the origin of prime.[2]

Cassian remarks that this office of prime was not accepted in all parts of the East, the most ancient monasteries preferring to remain faithful to their old rules: but he informs us that in Gaul the adoption of prime—*in the monasteries*, be it well understood—took place without any difficulty.[3]

The office of vespers, again, did not precisely coincide with the end of the day; for after it came the evening meal, and then bedtime. Could the day of a man of God end otherwise than with prayer? Was it not fitting that a religious should commend to God the night, and the rest which night brings with it? "When the night begins," writes S. Basil, "we must ask God to guard our rest from all sin, and from every evil thought: hence it is that we then say the 90th

[1] See J. Pargoire, "Prime et complies," in the *Revue d'hist. et de litt. religieuses*, t. III. (Paris, 1898), pp. 281-8.

[2] Cass. III. 4: "Quum . . . neglegentiores quique inducias somni longius protelarent, quippe quos vel cellas progedi vel de suis stratis consurgere ante horam tertiam nulla conventus ullius necessitas invitaret . . . decretum est diutino tractatu et consultatione sollicita ut usque ad ortum solis . . . fessis corporibus refectione concessa, invitati post haec religionis hujus observantia, cuncti pariter e suis stratis consurgerent, ac, tribus psalmis et orationibus celebratis, secundum modum qui antiquitus in observatione tertiae vel sextae trinae confessionis exemplo statutus est, et somno deinceps finem, et initium operationi, aequali moderamine simul facerent."

[3] *ibid.* "Quum hic idem typus, de Oriente procedens, huc usque fuerit utilissime propagatus, in nonnullis nunc usque per Orientem antiquissimis monasteriis, quae nequaquam vetustissimas regulas patrum violari patiuntur, minime videtur admissus". Bäumer, t. I. p. 230, remarks that in the sixth century, if we go by what is said by Gregory of Tours, prime had no existence in the churches of secular clergy in Northern Gaul. On the other hand (p. 240) he finds a clear trace of it in the Antiphonary of Bangor, a MS. of the end of the seventh century, representing a liturgy of the Irish monasteries of that and the preceding century. In it, however, prime is called *Secunda*, lauds being the actual first hour of prayer in the morning.

psalm, *Qui habitat in adjutorio altissimi*".[1] These words of S. Basil have been with reason regarded as the most ancient mention of this monastic prayer at bedtime, which is also mentioned by the author of the life of S. Hypatius, written between 447 and 450, where this prayer is called "*πρωθύπνια*" (first sleep).[2] But Cassian knows nothing of it. In the West, S. Benedict was the first—so it is said—to give it a place in the course of daily offices, giving it at the same time the name which it has ever since retained, of compline—*completorium*, the completion. It is, however, possible that S. Benedict did no more than adopt a custom already existing in the West, for we find it mentioned by one who was his contemporary, and probably not his disciple—Cassiodorus.[3]

And now the cycle of the monastic offices was complete: that cycle which has never been described in more harmonious language than by Cassiodorus: "It is by the psalms that our vigils are made sweet, when the voice of man breaks into music as the choirs chant in the silent night, and that word of God which came for the salvation of mankind is given back in sweetly modulated tone to Him who gave it. The united voice of those who chant becomes a song which at once delights the ear and instructs the heart, and the words of our praises are mingled with those of the angels who are unheard by us. In them (the psalms) the glory of the Father, Son and

[1] S. Bas. *Regul. fus. tract.* XXXVII. 5: "Καὶ πάλιν, τῆς νυκτὸς ἀρχομένης ἡ αἴτησις τοῦ ἀπρόσκοπον ἡμῖν καὶ φαντασιῶν ἐλευθέραν, ὑπάρξαι τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν λεγομένου καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἀναγκαίως τοῦ ά ψαλμοῦ". The author, in fact, enumerates the following hours of prayer: (1) *τὸν ὄρθρον*; (2) *τὴν τρίτην ὥραν*; (3) *τὴν ἕκτην*; (4) *τὴν ἐννάτην*; (5) the hour *τῆς συμπληρωθείσης τῆς ἡμέρας*; (6) the hour *τῆς νυκτὸς ἀρχομένης*; (7) *τὸ μεσονύκτιον*; (8) the hour before *τὸν ὄρθρον*. The passage, however, gives one the idea that these acts of prayer are rather matters of counsel than of strict rule.

[2] *Acta SS. Jun.* t. III. p. 325. S. Hypatius is described as *ψάλλων καὶ εὐχομένος ὀρθρινά* (lauds or prime), *τρίτην*, *ἕκτην*, *ἐννάτην*, *λυχνικά* (vespers), *πρωθύπνια* (compline), and *μεσονύκτια*. Supplement this by the article "Apodeipnon" in *Dict. Arch. Chrêt.* t. I. pp. 2579-82, by P. Pargoire.

[3] Cassiod. *Expos. in psalt.* Ps. CXVIII. 164: "*Septies in die laudem dixi Tibi* . . . Si ad literam hunc numerum velimus advertere, septem illas significat vices quibus se monachorum pia devotio consolatur, id est, matutinis, tertia, sexta, nona, lucernaria, completoriis, nocturnis. Hoc et S. Ambrosii hymnus in sextae horae decantatione testatur." The allusion is to the hymn *Bis ternas horas explicans*, which, though here attributed to S. Ambrose, is rather of the time of Cassiodorus himself:—

> Prophetae dicti memores (Ps. CXVIII. 164)
> Solvamus ora in canticis
> Prece mixta Davidicis,
> Ut septies diem vere . . .
> Laeti solvamus debitum.

Bäumer, t. I. p. 240, notices in the Antiphonary of Bangor a prayer, *ad initium noctis*, as a primitive trace of compline in the West.

Holy Ghost is combined in one, in order that the perfect praise of each of them may be declared. For the psalms, in our early morning praise, commend to God the coming day; they dedicate to Him the first hour of the day when it comes; they consecrate the third hour; they make joyful the sixth hour with the Breaking of the Bread; they release us from our fast at the ninth hour; they bring the last hour of the day to a close; and when night falls, it is by them that our souls are preserved from being enshrouded in darkness."[1]

From the point at which we have arrived, we take in at one view the whole process in which is found the genesis of the canonical hours. A primitive Christian idea, perhaps that of the end of the world and the return of Christ, created the ancient vigil, viz. the evening, night, and early morning office of Sunday. In the fourth century, the confraternities of ascetics and virgins caused it to become of daily observance. The desire of paying honour to God at each of the hours which divided the day produced the offices of terce, sext, and none, pious offices which throughout the whole of Christian antiquity remained peculiar to the monks. The two exercises known as prime and compline originated in the conditions of the cœnobitic life. We recognize in these broad features of the canonical office the parts respectively due to the primitive Church and to monasticism—parts which remained separate until the sixth century.

[1] "Psalmi . . . nobis gratas faciunt esse vigilias, quando silenti nocte psallentibus choris humana vox erumpit in musicam, verbisque arte modulatis ad Illum redire facit, a Quo pro salute humani generis divinum venit eloquium. Cantus quia aures oblectat et animas instruit, fit vox una psallentium, et cum angelis Dei quos audire non possumus laudum verba miscemus. . . . Eis [psalmis] Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti una gloria sociatur, ut perfecta Eorum praeconia comprobentur. Ipsi enim diem venturum matutina exsultatione conciliant; ipsi nobis primam diei horam dedicant; ipsi nobis tertiam horam consecrant; ipsi sextam in Panis confractione laetificant; ipsi nobis nona jejunia resolvunt; ipsi diei postrema concludunt; ipsi noctis adventu ne mens nostra tenebretur efficiunt" (*Expos. in psalt.* ut supra). For a comparison between the office as ordered by S. Benedict and the Roman office, see Amalarius, *Suppl. ad lib. IV de officiis*, published by Mabillon, *Vetera analecta* (Paris, 1723), pp. 93-100.

CHAPTER II.

THE SOURCES OF THE ROMAN OFFICE.

WE have studied the liturgy of the canonical hours, as regards its first formation and its development, outside the Roman Church, in order to be in a better position for distinguishing, in the liturgical usages of that Church, that which is due to local tradition, from that which is derived from universal tradition.[1] Henceforth, our work lies at Rome: and with the help of the documents anterior to the eighth century with which Roman ecclesiastical literature supplies us, we have to describe the development of the liturgy of the hours of prayer at Rome, the successive stages through which it passed before becoming fixed in that *Ordo psallendi*, partly original, partly borrowed from elsewhere, which was to form the canonical Roman office of the time of Charlemagne.

Since the special interior organization of the Roman Church conditions the whole history of the Divine Office in that Church, it is important to recall its details.

Four sorts of churches are found at Rome. First, those which were subsequently known as patriarchal churches—the Constantinian basilica of the Lateran, the Liberian basilica or S. Mary the Greater, the Sessorian basilica or Holy Cross in Jerusalem, the Constantinian basilicas of the Vatican, over the tomb of the Apostle S. Peter, of S. Paul on the Ostian Way, at the tomb of the Apostle S. Paul, of S. Laurence, over the tomb of that great Roman martyr, and lastly the basilica of S. Sebastian *ad Catacumbas*, at the spot where at one time the bodies of SS. Peter and Paul were laid. All of these are churches of exceptional importance, some of which (viz. those within the city, like the Lateran, the Liberian, and the Sessorian) were to Rome what the "great churches" were to

[1] We have disregarded the document entitled *Origo cantuum et cursuum ecclesiasticorum* (*P.L.* LXXII. 605), of which there is a MS. copy of the eighth century in the British Museum (Nero, A. II.), as it is of no value for our purpose. Bäumer, t. I. pp. 5 and 235.

Alexandria, Antioch and Carthage, while the others (those in the suburbs) were the renowned basilicas of the cemeteries, and of these the most renowned and highly venerated was the basilica of the Vatican.[1]

In the second place came the "titles" (*tituli*): of these there were twenty-five in the sixth century, and this number, which seems to have remained stationary since the fourth century, rises eventually to twenty-eight, but only by the eleventh century. These titles, scattered over the whole space enclosed within the walls of Rome, were like parish churches—"*quasi dioceses*" as the *Liber Pontificalis* says: they maintained the service of God as regarded Holy Baptism, the dealing with penitents, and the burial of the faithful. Each title had a priest over it.

Thirdly, there were the deaconries. From the third century the city of Rome was divided into seven ecclesiastical districts, each having a deacon over it. These seven deacons were not originally attached to any Church: they administered, each in his own district, a kind of charitable institution, and their duties included the management of the hospitals for the poor and for pilgrims, and the distribution of alms. Later—that is to say after the fifth century, but before the end of the seventh —while the number of districts remained unchanged, the number of deaconries was gradually extended to sixteen, and under Pope Hadrian I (772-795) it reached eighteen. And by this time each deaconry had a church belonging to it, which bore the name of the deaconry.

Lastly, the various sanctuaries of the suburban cemeteries constituted a fourth group of churches, the serving of which appertained to the clergy of the "titles".

Thus the clergy of Rome comprised two distinct bodies—the clergy of the "titles," and the clergy of the "districts". On these two bodies of clergy rested the obligation of the performance of the Divine Service, at all events from the fourth to the eighth century: though there came a time, it is true, when recourse was had to a third body of clergy, the members of the monastic communities.[2]

[1] S. Aug. *Epist.* XXIX. 10: ". . . de basilica B. Apost. Petri, . . . quod remotus sit locus ab episcopi conversatione. . . ."

[2] On this distribution of the Roman clergy, see the *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne), t. I. pp. 164 and 364: also Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* t. II. pp. xi and *sqq.* and the first paragraph of the most ancient *Ordines Romani*: "Primo omnium observandum est septem esse regiones ecclesiastici ordinis urbis Romae, etc."

I.

The history of the canonical hours at Rome only becomes clear at the end of the fourth century.[1] With S. Jerome, the observance of terce, sext, and none, and also of the psalmody at the Lucernarium and in the early morning, is, in the case of a Roman lady like Paula, Eustochium, or Laeta, a private and individual exercise. It was in the solitary seclusion of her mother's house that the daughter of Laeta had to practise these exercises, along with her *virgo veterana* (her governess, as we might call her), who was always with her: "*assuescat ad orationes et psalmos nocte consurgere, mane hymnos canere, tertia, sexta, nona hora stare in acie quasi bellatricem Christi accensaque lucernula reddere sacrificium vespertinum.*" [2] In fact, besides Mass, there was no other public office at which she had to assist, except the vigils.[3]

[1] The so-called *Canons of S. Hippolytus*, which, up to within fifteen years ago, it was believed could be quoted as a disciplinary Roman document of the time of Tertullian, have since been the subject of too many doubts as to their date, their place of origin, and their sources, to make it any longer prudent to quote them as bearing witness to liturgical usages actually Roman. We will not borrow from them even a single detail. Nevertheless let it be noted that the liturgical condition to which they testify is an archaic condition, and that in its main lines it corresponds fairly well with the condition of things anterior to the Constantinian peace. Mgr. Duchesne, *Origines*, pp. 504-21, reproduces the version of them which Dom Haneberg gave, from the Arabic. A better text, in German, is given by W. Riedel, *Die Kirchenrechts quellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien* (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 193-200.

[2] S. Jerome, *Epist.* CVII. 9, to Laeta; see also *Epist.* XXII. 37, to Eustochium. Cf. what Pelagius, in 414, writes to the virgin Demetrias, in retirement at Rome: "Debet aliquis esse determinatus et consultatus horarum numerus. . . . Optimum est ergo huic operi matutinum deputari tempus . . . usque ad horam tertiam . . . in secretiori domus parte ora clauso cubiculo tuo." *Epist. ad Demetriad.* 23 (*P.L.* XXXIII. 1115). And see the *Vita S. Melaniae jun.* 47 (ed. Rampolla, 1905, p. 26): "Regulam vero nocturnis temporibus hanc instituerat, ut sine intermissione complerentur tria responsoria, tres lectiones, et, quum matutini fierent, quindecim antiphonae". By *responsoria* one may understand psalms sung as a solo with an intercalated response, and by *antiphonae*—psalms sung by all together, in two choirs. Melania observed also terce, sext, and none, and the *hora lucernaria*. Again, further on, 64 (Rampolla, p. 37): "Consuetudo erat ei per vigilias sanctorum quinque legere lectiones". Thus, on the vigil of S. Stephen, she caused to be read the account of the finding of his relics, and, from the Acts of the Apostles, the narrative of his Martyrdom. It will be noticed that the order followed in regard to the hours by Melania at Jersualem is the same as that indicated by S. Jerome. Cardinal Rampolla (p. 262) conjectures that she pursued at Jerusalem the usages which she had practised when at Rome.

[3] Cf. *Vita S. Melan. jun.* 5 (Rampolla, p. 5):—

"Occasio evenit ut dies solemnis et commemoratio S. Laurentii Martyris ageretur. Beatissima vero fervens spiritu desiderabat ire et in sancti martyris basilica pervigilem celebrare noctem: sed non permittitur a parenti-

"It happened that a solemn festival was to be kept, for the commemoration of the Martyr S. Laurence. The most blessed virgin, fervent in spirit, desired to go and keep vigil the whole night in the basilica of the holy martyr: but

But at these solemn vigils, both of the Sunday and of the stations, which were celebrated in this or that church, all the faithful attended. The crowd was considerable, the attraction very great, and sometimes there was deplorable disorder.[1] S. Jerome advises Laeta not to allow her daughter to go without her; he tells her to keep her close by her side when there: "*Vigiliarum dies et solemnes pernoctationes sic virguncula nostra celebret, ut ne transverso quidem ungue a matre discedat*".[2] And he thus lets us see that it was not without some ground that Vigilantius demanded the suppression of the nocturnal office of the vigils, on account of the scandals that arose from it. But that would have been to make a very foolish concession to the perversity of a few libertines—"culpa juvenum vilissimarumque mulierum".[3]

Yet we must not suppose that, at the end of the fourth century, these solemn vigils at Rome, however well attended they were, possessed the same attractions as the vigils which were celebrated daily in other places, as for instance at Constantinople in the time of S. John Chrysostom, or at Milan in the time of S. Ambrose. The Greek style of music—"*canendi mos orientalium partium*"—as S. Augustine called it when speaking of the Ambrosian vigils, that *melos cantilenarum* which gave so thrilling a charm to the daily nocturnal office of the basilicas at Milan, was an innovation as yet unknown at Rome. In the time of Pope Damasus and S. Jerome there is no sign, at Rome, of psalmody rendered by two choirs: nothing, it would seem, more than *psalmi responsorii*, psalms executed in the same way as litanies.

To the deacons appertained the duty of thus executing the psalmody; and in many instances the epitaphs of deacons allude to the skill which they possessed in this sort of chant. Thus, that of the deacon Redemptus, an inscription of the time of Damasus, in the cemetery of Callixtus:—

bus, eo quod nimis tenera et delicati corporis hunc laborem vigiliarum ferre non posset. At illa, timens parentes, et desiderans placere Deo, permansit tota nocte vigilans in oratorio domus suae."

she was not allowed to do so by her parents, forasmuch as she was too tender and delicate of body to endure the fatigue of such a vigil. And so she, wishing both to honour her parents and to please God, remained all night keeping vigil in the oratory of her own home."

[1] S. Jerome, *Contra Vigilant.* 7.
[2] *Epist.* CVII. 9.
[3] S. Jerome, *Cont. Vigilant.* 9.

. . . Redemptum
Levitam subito rapuit sibi regia caeli.
Dulcia nectareo promebat mella canore,
Prophetam celebrans placido modulamine senem :
Haec fuit insontis vitae laudata juventus.[1]

The "ancient prophet" is of course no other than David. In the epitaph of another deacon, contemporary with Redemptus, we read :—

Hic levitarum primus in ordine vivens
Davidici cantor carminis iste fuit.[2]

We see that the chant of the psalms of David was, in the time of Damasus, executed as a solo by the Roman "levites," and that in a style sufficiently severe to be described as *modulamen placidum.*[3]

Thus, about the year 400 the Roman Church shows herself perceptibly behind-hand in comparison with other Churches; she was for a long period unaffected by the influence of monasticism,[4] and the clergy of Rome were, more than any other, attached to their own liturgical customs: thus the correction of the text of the psalter carried out by S. Jerome (A.D. 383),

[1] De Rossi, *Roma sotteranea*, t. III. (1877), p. 239. The word *levita*, in the language of Damasus and Jerome, always means "deacon". S. Jerome, *Epist.* CXLVI. 2. See also the Damasian epitaph of the deacon Florentius. De Rossi, *Inscriptiones*, t. II. p. 92.

[2] *Roma sotter.* t. III. p. 242. S. Jerome, who is very severe upon the clergy of Rome, gives us to understand that the chanting of the deacons gave occasion to criticisms such as we do not expect to find in epitaphs :

"Nec in tragaedorum modum guttur et fauces dulci medicamine colliniendas, ut in ecclesia theatrales moduli audiantur."

"Nor, after the manner of play-actors, are the throat and jaws to be anointed with some soothing drug, so that in the church theatrical tones may be heard."

(*Epist.* CXLVI. 2). Cf. Nicetas Remes. *De bono psalmodiae*, 13 (ed. Burn, p. 80).

"Sonus etiam vel melodia consentiens sanctae religioni psallatur, non quae tragicas difficultates exclamet, sed quae in nobis veram christianitatem demonstret; non quae aliquid theatrale redoleat, sed compunctionem peccatorum faciat."

"Both in tone of voice and in melody should the chanting be such as becometh holy devotion, not aiming at the utterance of brilliant dramatic passages, but at setting forth to us true Christian doctrine: not such as in any way recalls the theatre, but such as may produce compunction for sin."

[3] De Rossi, *Inscript.* t. II. (1888), p. 450: "An anonymous writer in the *Codex Coloniensis*, 45, fol. 17, wrote of David :—

Mystice dulcisonis depromit carmina fibris . . .
Reddens mellifluum dulci modulamine cantum."

Let us also quote the verses which serve as a prologue to the Carolingian psalters (*ibid.* p. 449) :—

Psallere qui docuit dulci modulamine sanctus.

[4] See, nevertheless, S. Augustine, *De moribus Eccl. Cath.* I. 33; and Card. Rampolla, *S. Melania giuniore Senatrice Romana* (Rome, 1905), p. 155.

at the request of Pope Damasus, met with keen resistance on their part, and we all know to what lengths the invective of S. Jerome on this subject was carried. There is therefore no cause for astonishment at the fact that in these matters of liturgy the Roman Church remained for a long time more old-fashioned than any other.

At what date did the "*canendi mos orientalium partium*," the antiphonal choral psalmody, reach Rome? It is impossible to determine this point with precision. The *Liber Pontificalis* seems to attribute this innovation to Pope Coelestine (422-32): he, we are there told, caused the hundred and fifty psalms of David to be chanted before the Sacrifice of the Mass, a custom unknown previously. The second edition adds that the chanting instituted by Coelestine was antiphonal.[1] So in the sixth century choral psalmody was regarded at Rome as having been instituted by Pope Coelestine. The evidence furnished by the *Liber Pontificalis* is, however, very slight, and I attach the less importance to it because this unlucky passage has been found to lend itself to the most contradictory interpretations.[2]

The establishment at Rome of daily vigils is a matter of

[1] *L.P.* t. I. p. 230: "Constituit ut Psalmi David CL ante Sacrificium psalli *antephanatim ex omnibus*, quod ante non fiebat". This same second edition of the *Liber Pont.* interpolates in the notice of Pope Damasus the following passage:—

"Constituit ut psalmos die noctuque canerentur per omnes ecclesias, qui hoc praecepit presbyteris vel episcopis aut monasteriis." Mgr. Duchesne (*L.P.* t. I. p. 215), thinks that this interpolation is due to the influence of the apocryphal correspondence supposed to pass between Jerome and Damasus. I think so too: and perhaps this correspondence originally included one more item than we now find in it, viz. a letter from Damasus to the "presbyters, bishops, and monasteries". At present this apocryphal correspondence consists of two letters: the first is from Damasus (Jaffé, 242; *P.L.* XIII. 440), asking Jerome (who is supposed to be then at Jerusalem) to give him an account of the *Graecorum psallentiam*, because at Rome the custom still is to read on Sunday an Epistle from the writings of the Apostles and a chapter of the Gospel, "et nec psallentium mos tenetur, nec hymni decus in ore nostro cognoscitur". In the second letter (*P.L.* XXX. 294-95), Jerome replies to Damasus that he has translated the psalter for him from the Septuagint, "propter fastidium Romanorum". He adds: "Precatur ergo cliens tuus ut vox ista psallentium in sede Romana die noctuque canatur, et ut in fine cujusque psalmi, sive matutinis horis sive vespertinis, conjungi praecipiat Apostolatus tui ordo: Gloria Patri." Lastly, Jerome asks that, in the night office, the *Alleluya* may be used for a response—"ut in omni loco communiter respondeatur nocturnis temporibus". These two apocryphal letters are anterior to the second edition of the *Lib. Pont.* (about A.D. 530), but not much anterior, I should say.

[2] I do not think we can say with Mgr. Duchesne (*L.P.* t. I. p. 231) "Here we must recognize the beginning of what we call the Divine Office": for the reform attributed to Pope Coelestine has reference to a psalmody which forms part of the liturgical forms used at Mass.

greater interest. With S. Jerome, at the end of the fourth century, there was no question of anything more than vigils for Sundays and station days (*festivae dies*). But ordinary days, called in the fifth century "private days" (*privatae dies*), were not, up to that time, furnished with vigils. It was only in the course of the fifth century that they began to have them at Rome. The most ancient mention to be found of daily vigils at Rome is in the rule of S. Benedict. Having to settle the programme of the vigils for "private days," S. Benedict ordains that at these one of the Old Testament canticles shall be chanted every day—"as does the Roman Church" (*ceteris diebus canticum unumquemque die suo ex prophetis, sicut psallit Ecclesia Romana, dicantur.*[1] Whence we infer that at the end of the fifth century the Roman Church had a daily canonical office, or, in other words, vigils for "private days". The Roman Church was late in falling in with the régime adopted a century before at Jerusalem, Antioch, Constantinople, and Milan. But the innovation adapted itself, nevertheless, without difficulty to the previously existing Roman customs. The vigils of the station days were, in fact, arranged in connexion with the Mass of the station; with it they were celebrated in a specified basilica, the whole Church being supposed to take part in the celebration, the Pope, the clergy, and the faithful.[2] The daily vigils, on the other hand, stood in a similar relation to the "private" Mass celebrated daily in each presbyteral Title; and just as this "private" Mass was celebrated by the priest of the Title, assisted only by his acolytes, and with no other than a voluntary congregation—some of the faithful of the neighbourhood and perchance some pilgrims—so the daily vigils were celebrated in each presbyteral Title, only by the clergy attached to that Title, and the congregation was composed of such of the lay-folk as might be disposed to attend.

These daily vigils, inaugurated in the fifth century, were destined for a long time to form the chief part of the office of

[1] *Regul.* 13 (ed. Wölfflin, 1895, p. 26).

[2] S. Leo, *Epist.* IX. 2 (Jaffé, 406):—

"Quum solemnior quaeque festivitas conventum populi numerosioris indixerit, et ea fidelium multitudo convenerit quam recipere basilica simul una non possit, sacrificii oblatio indubitanter iteretur."

"When some more solemn festival has caused a more numerous assembly of the people, and such a multitude of the faithful has come together that it is not possible for one basilica to contain them, then, without doubt, let there be more than one offering of the Sacrifice."

the Roman clergy. Let us proceed to follow up such few traces as they have left in history and canon law.

The *Liber Pontificalis* relates that Pope Hormisdas (514-523), "*composuit clerum et psalmis erudivit*".[1] If this had meant that he instructed the clergy in the knowledge of Holy Scripture, mention would not have been made of the psalms alone. The reference is to chanting psalms. Here then, this chanting of the psalms is spoken of as a duty in which it was necessary to instruct, or to the performance of which it was even necessary to compel, the clergy: *erudivit,—composuit.* We may, in fact, see in these efforts of Pope Hormisdas the same intention which the Emperor Justinian expressed at about the same date in his Constitution of A.D. 528, when he recalled the clergy to the duty of chanting the psalms at the daily vigils of the churches to which they were attached.

A much more definite expression of the same duty appears in a fragment of a decretal, incorporated in the work of Gratian. It bears in the manuscripts sometimes the name of Pope Gelasius, sometimes of a Pope Pelagius. One cannot be certain to whom it ought really to be assigned, but we may certainly see in it an authentic document of the time of Justinian or a little later. And what do we read in it? A suburbicarian[2] bishop had given a pledge to the Holy See that he would cause the office of the daily vigils to be performed in his church by his clergy. But the latter, deeming the obligation too onerous, have not responded to the call of their bishop, who therefore refers the matter to the Pope, and the Pope replies that the bishop is to recall his clergy by every means in his power to their liturgical duty, which he thus defines: "*ut cottidianis diebus vigiliae celebrentur in ecclesia*".[3]

And would one like to know what was the programme of these daily vigils, which thus in the fifth and sixth centuries formed the entire office recited by the Roman clergy? Well, a document closely connected with the fragment of decretal

[1] *L.P.* t. I. p. 269.

[2] The suburbicarian churches, according to the late Canon Bright, were probably those of Picenum Suburbicarium, Campania, Tuscia and Umbria, Apulia and Calabria, Bruttii and Lucania, Valeria, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica.—A. B.]

[3] Friedberg, t. I. p. 316: "Eleuterius frater et coepiscopus noster queritur, clericos suos sibi contra canones superbire, et id quod nobis jubentibus facta in scrinio cautione promisit, ut cottidianis diebus vigiliae in ejus celebrentur ecclesia, illis contempnentibus implere non posse, sed magis unumquemque suis (postposito ecclesiae servitio) vacare negotiis. Et ideo Experientia tua eos, quos tibi esse ostenderit contumaces, debita objurgatione compesce, et modis omnibus vigiliis vacare compelle."

which I have just quoted will tell us. It is a form taken from the *Liber Diurnus*—the actual form of that pledge which the suburbicarian bishops gave to the Pope on receiving consecration from him. This form describes the liturgical office to which these bishops bound themselves in their own name and that of their clergy. It is the most ancient *Ordo* of the Roman office which we possess:—

> Illud etiam prae omnibus spondeo atque promitto, me omni tempore per singulos dies a primo gallo usque mane, cum omni ordine clericorum meorum vigilias in ecclesia celebrare ; ita ut minoris quidem noctis, id est a Pascha usque ad aequinoctium XXIV^a^ die mensis Septembris, tres lectiones et tres antiphonae atque tres responsorii dicantur : ab hoc vero aequinoctio usque ad aliud vernale aequinoctium et usque ad Pascha, quatuor lectiones cum responsoriis et antiphonis suis dicantur : Dominico autem in omni tempore novem lectiones cum antiphonis et responsoriis suis persolvere Deo profitemur.[1]

Thus, at all times of the year, every day, from the first cock-crowing until sunrise, the whole clergy, with the bishop at their head, assembled at the church to celebrate the vigils. On every Sunday in the year these vigils comprised psalmody with antiphons, nine lessons and their responds. Daily, there was psalmody with antiphons, also lessons and responds varying in number according to the season: three lessons from Easter to September the 24th, four lessons from then to Easter. Let us study the passage point by point.

(1) Each day there is a vigil office. The anonymous decretal quoted by Gratian told us this, but the *Liber Diurnus* is more precise: it shows us that this office is to be performed on every day in the year, at whatever season; that it begins at the first cock-crowing; and that it is obligatory for the whole body of clergy.

(2) This vigil office is celebrated *a primo gallo usque mane.* The *Liber Diurnus* does not mention, it is true, the office of lauds: but S. Benedict, who prescribes the *laudes matutinae* at sunrise, at the end of the nocturnal vigil office, gives us to understand that such was also the custom of the Roman Church. We may therefore conjecture that the office of lauds was conjoined with the vigil.

(3) On the other hand, the *Liber* says not one word about the office of vespers: nor does the decretal quoted by Gratian.

[1] *Lib. Diurn.* III. 7 (*P.L.* CV. 71, or ed. Sickel [Vienna, 1889], pp. 77-8). The MS. of the *Liber* preserved at the Vatican dates from about A.D. 800. The form here quoted is one of a group which, in the opinion of M. Sickel (p. XXX), was inserted in the *Liber* before the end of the seventh century.

We are thus led to recall the fact that the Spanish and Frankish Councils of the sixth century, in agreement with Byzantine law at the same period, distinguish clearly between the *officia vespertina* and the *officia matutina*. The contrast is very remarkable.[1]

(4) The vigil office, from Easter to September the 24th, when the nights are shortest, comprises three lessons, three responds, three antiphons; from September the 24th to Easter, when the nights are longest, it has four lessons; but on all Sundays, without exception, nine lessons. The meaning to be attached to the words *responsorii* and *antiphonae* remains doubtful. Are we to understand by *responsorii* "responds," in the sense in which we find that word used later? Or does *responsorii* here mean psalms said as a solo, in contradistinction to those recited by two choirs alternately? I would not venture to say.

(5) The lessons, whether three, or four, or nine in number, are supposed to be drawn from Holy Scripture. It is, however, certain that in the time of S. Gregory (590-604) they were also taken from other than canonical writings. "It has been reported to us," he writes, "that our reverend brother and fellow bishop Marinianus uses our commentary on Job for reading at the vigils. We are not pleased at this, for that work is not composed for the people. . . . Tell him to substitute for it at the vigils our commentary on the Psalms, as that is more suited for the instruction of the minds of the laity in right conduct.[2]

We have said that the vigils of the "private days"—the ferial vigils—were the province of the priest and the clerks attached to each "Title" or parish church. Among these inferior clergy we must assign a special place to the *readers*. They

[1] Bäumer, t. I. p. 251, insists with reason on the fact that S. Benedict fashioned his office of vespers quite otherwise than as he found it used in his time. Let us add that the type of vespers devised by S. Benedict is that which was eventually introduced at Rome in the course of the eighth century.

[2] S. Greg. *Epist.* XII. 24. ". . . . Quia Marinianus legi commenta beati Jobi publice ad vigilias faciat, non grate suscepi, quia non est illud opus populare . . . Sed dic ei ut commenta Psalmorum legi ad vigilias faciat" (Jaffé, 1857) The decree attributed to Pope Gelasius (492-6), *Decretum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*, may as regards some of its features go back to the time of Damasus (366-84); but, in the form in which we have it, it is of the time of Pope Hormisdas (514-23). Therein it is said that the "opuscula atque tractatus orthodoxorum Patrum, qui in nullo a S. Romanae Ecclesiae consortio deviaverunt," may be read: doubtless in public worship. The decree is, on the other hand, severe as regards the *gesta martyrum*: because they do not bear upon them the names of their authors, and there are among them some which have been fabricated by heretics: so "in S Romana Ecclesia non leguntur". Nevertheless, this severity shows signs of relaxation: thus the acts of S. Sylvester "a multis in urbe Roma Catholicis legi cognovimus, et pro antiquo usu multae hoc imitantur ecclesiae".

belonged to the Titles, not to the districts. Inscriptions of the fourth century mention a *lector tituli Pallacinae* (S. Mark's), a *lector tituli Fasciolae* (SS. Nereus and Achilles), a *lector de Pudentiana.* In an inscription of the seventh century we find mention of a *lector tituli S. Caeciliae.*[1] There is an important detail to be noted here, viz. that in the fourth century the readers of Rome were not only grown-up men, but of ripe age; the reader of the basilica of Pudentiana is twenty-four years old; he of the basilica of Fasciola is forty-six. But in the seventh century, on the contrary, the readers are children: the reader of the basilica of S. Caecilia is twelve years old. Thus between the fourth and the seventh centuries the condition of the Roman readers was completely changed, and that because the Roman chant itself was completely changed. They had broken with that ancient and severe style of chanting the psalms which an inscription of the time of Damasus, as we have seen, characterized as *modulamen placidum.* Choral psalmody had at last become naturalized at Rome. That is why these clerks, with their grave and manly tones, had given way to choirs of children with flexible young voices, as had already been the case elsewhere in Catholic Christendom for a considerable time: in Africa, for example, where we come across the twelve little clerks of Carthage—*infantuli clerici . . . strenui atque apti modulis cantilenae*—whose touching courage (A.D. 486) is related by Victor Vitensis.[2]

Just at the end of the sixth century we find the colleges of young chanters at Rome becoming as it were seminaries of the Roman clergy. The epitaph of Pope Deusdedit (615-8) tells us that he thus began his career in the shadow of the basilica of S. Peter:—

> Hic vir ab exortu Petri est nutritus ovili . . .
> Excuvians Christi cantibus hymnisonis.[3]

In the same way, it is recorded of Pope Leo II (682-3) that he had been famous for his chanting — *cantelena ac psalmodia praecipuus;*—of Pope Benedict II (684-5) that he had distinguished himself from his childhood in chanting—*in cantilena a puerili etate;* of Pope Sergius I (687-701) that, when quite young, he had been entrusted to the Prior of the

[1] De Rossi, *Bulletino*, 1883, p. 20.

[2] Vict. Vit. *De persecut. Vand.* III. 39-40 (ed. Petschanig). The author remarks that these little clerks lived together in a college: "Una degunt, simul vescuntur". Cf. Greg. Turonen. *In gloria Mart.* 76.

[3] De Rossi, *Inscript.* t. II. p. 127.

chanters for instruction, because he was industrious and had a talent for chanting—*quia studiosus erat et capax in officio cantelenae, priori cantorum pro doctrina est traditus.*[1]

Thus we see appear in the seventh century the Roman *chant*, and straightway with the chant comes forth a school for chanters.

Each Title had its readers. It was thought good that the two great basilicas of Rome, those of the Vatican and the Lateran, should have their readers gathered together in a sort of college, like those *Scolae lectorum* which already existed at Milan, at Lyons, at Rheims, at Constantinople.[2] The two colleges of readers thus founded, and destined to bear in common the name at first of *Orphanotrophium*,[3] afterwards of *Scola cantorum*, formed two distinct establishments: the one built in front of S. Peter's, the other hard by the *Patriarchium* of the Lateran.[4] At all events, such was the case in the ninth century, when John the Deacon (A.D. 872) was writing the life of Saint Gregory, to whom he attributes the foundation of the *Scola cantorum.*

One cannot but be struck with this fact: the simultaneous

[1] *L.P.* t. I. pp. 359, 363, 371. [2] De Rossi, *Bulletino*, 1883, p. 19.

[3] *L.P.* t. II. p. 92: "[Sergius II (844-7)] papa *Scolam cantorum*, quae pridem *Orphanotropheum* vocabatur, quum prae nimia vetustate emarcuerat, et pene in ruina posita atque confracta a priscis temporibus videretur, Dei annuente clementia, a fundamentis in meliorem, ut olim fuerat, statum noviter restauravit". In reality, as Mgr. Duchesne remarks (p. 102) the *Scola cantorum* is mentioned in a letter of Pope Paul I (757-67) to Pepin the Short (Jaffé, 2371), and in the *Ordines* of the eighth and ninth centuries. Pope Leo III (795-816) in taking charge of an orphan, destined himself to become Pope Sergius II, entrusts him to the *Scola cantorum*: "Tunc praesul eum *Scolae cantorum* ad erudiendum communes tradidit litteras et ut mellifluis instrueretur cantilenae melodiis". The child soon surpassed "omnes Scolae puerulos". *L.P.* t. II. p. 86.

Ordo Romanus, IX. I (*P.L.* LXXVIII. p. 1003):—

"Primum, in qualicunque schola reperti fuerint pueri bene psallentes, tolluntur inde, et nutriuntur in Scola cantorum, et postea fiunt cubicularii. Si autem nobilium filii fuerint, statim in cubiculo nutriuntur. Ex hac accipient primam benedictionem ab archidiacono, ut liceat eis super linteum villosum sedere, quod mos est ponere super sellam equi."

"In the first place, if in any school boys are found who chant well, they are removed thence and brought up in the *Scola cantorum*, and are afterwards made Chamberlains. But if they are sons of nobles, they are forthwith brought up in the household [of the Pope]. And thereafter let them receive from the Archdeacon the first benediction, so that they may have right to sit upon cloth with a long pile, such as is wont to be put upon horse saddles."

[4] As to this foundation close to the Lateran, see Mgr. Duchesne's note, t. II. p. 102. The *Liber Diurnus* contains a form relating to an endowment unjustly taken away from the *Orphanotrophium*, in which we read: "Dumque necessitate victus arctatur locus, frequentia cessavit infantium, quibus deerat expensae providentia. Ne ergo cantorum deficeret ordo atque Dei Ecclesiae contumelia irrogaretur, etc."

appearance at Rome of the chant and the school for chanters dates back to the age of S. Gregory (*d.* 604). But was the *Scola cantorum*, after all, instituted by that great Pope? John the Deacon, it is true, positively affirms it:—

> Like a wise Solomon in the House of the Lord, S. Gregory, knowing how the sweetness of the music can touch the heart, compiled for the advantage of the chanters the extremely useful collection called the Antiphonary. So also he instituted the school for chanters, whose members still execute sacred song in the holy Roman Church according to the instructions received from him. To this school he assigned property, and built for it two dwelling-houses, one at the foot of the steps of the basilica of the Apostle S. Peter, the other close by the buildings of the Patriarchal palace of the Lateran. They still show there the couch on which he rested while giving his lessons in chanting; and the whip with which he threatened the children of the choir is still preserved there, and venerated as a relic, as is also his original Antiphonary. By a clause inserted in the deed of gift, he directed under pain of anathema that the property given by him should be divided between the two parts of the Scola as a remuneration for their daily service.[1]

The *Liber Pontificalis*, whose notice of S. Gregory is of the seventh century, says not a word of this alleged foundation of the *Scola cantorum*.[2] Then too we have the constitutions of a council held at Rome by S. Gregory in 595, and what do we read there? "In the holy Roman Church there is a custom of old standing but most reprehensible, of having the chanting done by deacons and other persons who are engaged in the ministry of the holy altar: whence it comes about that in advancing persons to the order of Deacon, less attention is often paid to their conduct than to the quality of their voices: a grave abuse, for which a speedy remedy must be found by forbidding the deacons to act as chanters, and confining their duties to those of the sacred ministry; as for the chanting, it

[1] Joann. Diac. II. 6 (*P.L.* LXXV. 90): ". . . antiphonarium centonem cantorum studiosissimus compilavit; scolam quoque cantorum, quae hactenas eisdem institutionibus in S. Romana Ecclesia modulatur, constituit; eique cum nonnullis praediis duo habitacula, scilicet alterum sub gradibus basilicae B. Petri Apostoli, alterum vero sub Lateranensis Patriarchii domibus fabricavit, ubi usque hodie lectus ejus in quo recubans modulabatur, et flagellum ipsius quo pueris minabatur, veneratione congrua cum authentico antiphonario reservatur". In the seventh century there was preserved indeed the bed on which it was believed that S. Gregory *died*. See, in De Rossi, *Inscript.* t. II. p. 227, the passage of the Itinerary known as that of Salzburg: "Perge ad porticum Petronellae, gaudensque ascende ad Gregorii lectum patris sancti, in quo spiritum reddidit Deo". So, in the seventh century, the talk was not of a bed on which Gregory rested while giving lessons in chanting with a whip in his hand!

[2] Nothing either in the *Vita antiquissima* published by Dom Gasquet, "A life of Pope S. Gregory the Great" (Westminster, 1904), written about 713 by a monk of the monastery of Whitby.

is to be performed by the subdeacons, or, if necessity requires, by those in minor orders"—"*Psalmos vero ac reliquas lectiones censeo per subdiaconos vel si necessitas fuerit per minores ordines exhiberi*".[1] Observe the *si necessitas fuerit;* the psalms and lessons, with the exception of the Gospel at Mass, are to be in the holy Roman Church the province of the subdeacons by right and only by way of exception belong to the readers, when no other arrangement can be made. It is certainly a singular settlement of the question which this rule made by S. Gregory proposes, not so much because it takes away the chanting from the deacons as because it hands it over to the subdeacons; and it does not appear to have had either full or lasting effect: but, for all that, the regulation is quite against the hypothesis of the foundation by S. Gregory of a college of readers, or even of simple chanters.

As for Pope Gregory the Great (unless, after all, it should turn out to have been Pope Gregory III, 731-41) having endowed the *Orphanotrophium*, and the deed of endowment having been seen by John the Deacon in 872, all that is plausible enough: but the rest of his information about the Gregorian origin of the *Scola* merely represents the opinion commonly held in the latter part of the ninth century, an opinion which, as we shall presently see, depends on the attribution to S. Gregory of the "Gregorian chant".

If the idea of the institution by S. Gregory of the *Scola cantorum* is a tradition of late development, what must we think of the tradition which attributes to this Pontiff the creation of the text and the music of the antiphons and responds of the office? Dom. Morin has collected together all the passages which attribute to S. Gregory this creation;[2] and in them the unprejudiced reader can see that just as the *Ordo* of the Mass was attributed to S. Gregory, so the melodies incorporated in that *Ordo* were attributed to him; the authenticity of the antiphonary depends on that of the

[1] *P.L.* LXXVII. 1335 (Jaffé, 5 July, 595): "In S. Romana Ecclesia . . . dudum consuetudo est valde reprehensibilis exorta, ut quidam ad sacri altaris ministerium cantores eligantur, et in diaconatus ordine constituti modulationi vocis inserviant, quos ad praedicationis officium eleemosynarumque studium vacare congruebat. Unde fit plerumque ut ad sacrum ministerium dum blanda vox quaeritur, quaeri congrua vita negligatur, et cantor minister Deum moribus stimulet, quum populum vocibus delectat. Qua in re praesenti decreto constituo ut in hac Sede sacri altaris ministri cantare non debeant, solumque evangelicae lectionis officium inter missarum solemnia exsolvant. Psalmos vero, etc."

[2] G. Morin, *Les véritables origines du chant Gregorien* (Maredsous, 1890), pp. 7-33. Dom Morin writes in reply to F. A. Gevärt, *Origines du chant liturgique de l'Eglise Latine* (Ghent, 1890).

sacramentary. And it is thus that we find Egbert, Archbishop of York, 732-766, the most ancient author who testifies to the Gregorian origin of the antiphonary, saying, with reference to the Ember-tide fast: "It is S. Gregory who in his antiphonary and his missal has marked the week which follows Pentecost as that in which the Church of England ought to observe this fast: it is not only our antiphonaries which attest this, but also those which, with the missals which belong to them, we have consulted in the basilicas of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul—'*nostra testantur antiphonaria, sed et ipsa quae cum missalibus suis conspeximus apud Apostolorum Petri et Pauli limina*'."[1] Whatever authority there is for assigning to S. Gregory the sacramentary, the same there is for attributing to him the antiphonary, and no more: and everybody knows how little right the sacramentary has to be called "Gregorian," being in fact partly more ancient and partly more modern than the time of S. Gregory.[2] And even were the sacramentary absolutely Gregorian, and the antiphonary no less so, we should still have no right to say that the composition of the *antiphons and responds of the Divine Office* is due to S. Gregory, for in the language of the eighth century, and certainly in the passage quoted from Egbert of York, the word *antiphonary* designates the collection of music sung at *Mass*—what we now call the Gradual, *Liber Gradualis*,—and not of the pieces sung in the Divine Office. And so the whole question of the authorship of this collection of antiphons and responds in the office is quite unconnected with anything which Egbert had in his mind, and therefore remains for us unsolved.

The opinion which attributes to S. Gregory and to no other person the text and the chant of the antiphons and responds of the Roman office being put aside,[3] my theory is as follows:

[1] Egbert, *De instit. cath.* XVI. 2 (*P.L.* LXXXIX. 441); Morin, p. 28.

[2] Duchesne, *Origines*, pp. 117-19: "Another error against which we have to be on our guard is to consider this book [the Gregorian sacramentary] as being the work of S. Gregory himself. . . . One would not be far wrong in taking the Gregorian sacramentary as representing the state of the Roman liturgy in the time of Pope Hadrian I (772-95)." Dom Morin, p. 69: "The work of Gregory was [for the Gregorian chant] a work of organizing and re-casting rather than of composition properly so-called. . . . I believe the work done [by him] in regard to the sacramentary gives us the best idea of what was done by him for the chant."

[3] This negative conclusion is not so novel as some have endeavoured to make out. The wise Grancolas, two centuries ago, said (*Comment.* p. 93): "Antiphonarium Romanum plerumque S. Gregorio tribuitur, verum id certe affirmare non possumus". Dom Leclercq, in his article, "Antiphonaire" (*Dict. Arch.*

Much better founded was the opinion of that anonymous liturgical author of the eighth century, an earlier writer, therefore, than John the Deacon, and perhaps than Egbert of York, and more familiar also, it would seem, with the traditions and usages of the Vatican basilica, who attributes the collective creation of the Roman chant of the antiphons and responds, not to any one Pontiff, but to many: to S. Leo (*d.* 461), to Gelasius (*d.* 496), Symmachus (*d.* 514), John I (*d.* 526), Boniface II (*d.* 533), and only finally to S. Gregory (590-604). Nor was it at the hands of S. Gregory that it received its full development: the work was to be continued by the labours of Pope Martin I (*d.* 653), and still more by other masters of chant, unknown to fame, whose names are recorded for us by this same liturgical author, Catalenus, Maurianus, and others.[1] Doubtless, it will not do to accept unhesitatingly all the assertions of this anonymous liturgist. When he asserts that Pope Damasus introduced at Rome, with the aid of S. Jerome, the *Ordo psallendi* of Jerusalem, he derives his information from the apocryphal letters of Damasus and Jerome, the true character of which we have already indicated; morever, they have no more to do with the Roman *office* than with the Roman *chant*. What he says of the *cantus annalis* instituted by S. Leo, by Pope Gelasius, or even by Pope Symmachus, accords ill with the documents which we have studied. But let us mark most carefully this one fact—a fact of capital importance—viz. that our liturgist regarded this *cantus annalis* of the Roman Church as a work of great antiquity, but wrought by various hands at successive periods; a

Chrèt. t. I. pp. 2443-61), gives a very learned exposition of the controversy, from the seventeenth century down to our time, and gives his support to my solution, which he characterizes as "an eclectic solution, by no means rigid, and sufficiently accommodating to put everyone in mutual agreement".

[1] *Anonym. Gerbert*, v. 6. See the passage quoted in full further on, p. 119. Dom Morin (p. 23) says: "This very curious fragment accords with the eighth century both as regards its style and its matter: it is evidently closely related to the *Ordo* of the Benedictine monasteries of Rome, published by Dom Martene from a MS. of Murbach of the eighth century (*P.L.* LXVI. 998). Again (p. 67): "This document is the work of some Frankish monk of the eighth century, who went to Rome for the purpose of examining at close quarters the customs and traditions of the Roman monasteries. . . . He seems particularly well informed as to the traditions which obtained in the monasteries situated close to S. Peter's. It is apparently from them that he must have received this information, which has not hitherto attracted sufficient notice, as to the various persons who elaborated the liturgical chant of Rome." Bäumer, t. I. p. 320, is inclined to believe this document still more ancient. The last Pope mentioned in it is Pope Martin I (*d.* 653): there is no allusion to Pope Hadrian I (772-95). One might give it a date between the two.

work in regard to which S. Gregory, along with many others, held merely the position of a contributor.[1]

This opinion agrees with that of the greatest of the liturgists of the Carolingian school in the ninth century, Amalarius, himself also anterior to John the Deacon. Speaking of the Roman office as he had studied it at Rome itself, he asserts that the responds of that office were composed "*a magistris S. Romanae Ecclesiae*".[2]

To sum up what has been said: the *Liber Responsalis* of Rome is the traditional work of the master-chanters of the Roman Church; it becomes fixed in the seventh and eighth centuries; and it only begins to be attributed to S. Gregory from the ninth century onwards, and that by assimilating its authorship to that of the Gregorian *Liber Gradualis*.

II.

"*Omni tempore per singulos dies, a primo gallo usque mane, cum omni ordine clericorum, vigilias in ecclesia celebrare*[3]—such

[1] It is a most striking coincidence, that the view taken by this Frankish liturgist, founded on what was known and said in the monasteries of Rome devoted to the practice of the liturgical chant, agrees with what we read in those prologues in verse which, in after time, were placed at the head of the *Liber Gradualis* of Rome, the most famous of which is that attributed to Pope Hadrian I (772-95):—

Gregorius praesul, meritis et nomine dignus
Unde genus ducit, summum conscendit honorem:
Qui renovans monumenta patrum, juniorque priorum [?],
Munere caelesti fretus ornans sapienter,
Composuit scolae cantorum hunc rite libellum,
Quo reciprocando moduletur carmina Christo.

Morin, p. 26. The expression "renovans monumenta patrum" reappears in another prologue, in the antiphonary of S. Gall:—

Ipse patrum monumenta sequens renovavit et auxit,
Carmina in officiis retinet quae circulus anni.

Morin, p. 69. Thus, in the time of Hadrian I, the *Liber Gradualis* was still regarded as the work jointly of S. Gregory and of other more ancient authors. But soon the name of Gregory alone was kept in memory. Next, as time went on, the *Liber Responsalis* came to be attributed to the same author as the *Liber Gradualis*.

[2] Amalar. *De ord. Antiphonarii*, 43. Amalarius (*De Eccl. Off.* IV. 30) distinguishes between "auctores lectionarii et antiphonarii, ac missalis—enim auctorem [missalis] credimus esse B. Papam Gregorium". Agobard (779-840), *De correct. antiph.* 15, is aware of the attribution to S. Gregory of the *Liber Responsalis*, and he gives it as "the opinion of certain persons," which he does not consider that he is bound to endorse: "verum quia Gregorii praesulis nomen titulus praefati libelli praetendit, et hinc opinione sumpta putant eum quidem a B. Gregorio Romano pontifice et illustrissimo Doctore compositum". The words "Gregorii praesulis nomen" betray the influence of the prologue *Gregorius praesul* already quoted, and indicate the confusion that arose from it. Walafrid Strabo (807-49) also draws his inspiration from the same prologue. Dom Morin, pp. 14-5.

[3] *Liber Diurnus*, III. 7.

is the formula prescribing the custom which we have seen flourishing at Rome in the sixth century. So far, there has been no question, at Rome, of any office but that of the secular clergy. The moment has now come when, for the first time in the history of Roman liturgy, the monastic influence makes its appearance.

We know the sort of reception the Roman clergy gave to S. Jerome, the first advocate of monasticism at Rome: he has taken good care to let us hear of it, and indeed to give his adversaries as good as they gave. Less well-known are certain prefaces of the Leonine sacramentary,[1] which it is believed may be dated back to the latter part of the fourth century, and which on no supposition can be later than the first half of the sixth, in which Roman priests do not shrink from expressing their grievances even in the liturgy. They are expressed in very lively terms: "They are regular diatribes against the monks. . . . The attention of the Almighty is called to the fact that nowadays His Church contains false confessors mingled among the true; much is said about enemies, calumniators, proud ones who deem themselves better than others and tear them in pieces, who present an outward appearance of piety, but who are set on doing harm. The need of guarding against them is asserted." [2]

If such liturgical utterances are to be understood as the public expression of the feeling of even one section of the Roman clergy, there is no reason to be astonished at the fact that it was long before monasticism succeeded in making itself accepted at Rome.[3] But, in spite of all this, monachism took root in Rome and endured, however restricted was the place which the Roman clergy allowed it to hold. In 556, the election of Pope Pelagius was held in check by the opposition of the Roman monks.[4] Under S. Gregory the favour shown to them was great. But this flourishing state of Roman monachism toward the end of the sixth century was of short duration; the favour which it had met with, and which it owed particularly to the protection of S. Gregory, ceased immediately after the death of that Pope in 604, and a perceptible reaction followed. The

[1] *P.L.*, IV. 28, 64, 65, 74. [2] Duchesne, *Origines*, p. 135.

[3] Perhaps it is with some such state of things that the lost constitution of Pope Innocent I (401-17) *De regulis monast.* was concerned. *L.P.* t. I. p. 220.

[4] *L.P.* t. I. p. 303: "Monasteria, et multitudo religiosorum, sapientium et nobilium, subduxerunt se a communione ejus [Pelagii]." Here we see, at that date, the importance of the Roman monasteries, and the great numbers of the monks.

clerks who edit this part of the *Liber Pontificalis* betray in more than one passage the gratification which this change of feeling inspired in them. We find them commending Pope Sabinian (604-6) for having, during his short pontificate, and evidently in contrast with his predecessor S. Gregory, filled the Church with clerks—"*Ecclesiam de clero implevit*"—and Pope Deusdedit (615-18) for having restored to them the offices and revenues which they had formerly possessed—a great mark of affection for the clergy—"*Hic clerum multum dilexit, sacerdotes et clerum ad loca pristina revocavit*".[1] What had happened at the election of Pelagius in 556 did not occur again, after the close of the sixth century. But, on the other hand, if there was need of missionaries for the most remote countries of the West, or of men to serve the most forlorn and neglected sanctuaries in the outskirts of Rome, it was to monachism that the Pope looked to supply the want.

The first monastery which we find established in the Eternal City goes back to the time of Sixtus III (432-40). This Pope entrusted to some monks the care of the cemetery *ad Catacumbas*, on the Appian Way.[2] The exact object of this foundation it is not easy to discover: was it to secure the serving of the sanctuary as regards liturgy, or merely the proper care of it? One cannot say. On the other hand, the idea of his immediate successor S. Leo (440-61) is more easy to determine. He established a monastery of men at the basilica of S. Peter.[3] Now it is not permissible to think that these monks were put there for the service of the catechumens and the penitents, or the faithful departed, for such service was reserved to the priests of the districts.[4] Nor can we suppose that their office was to take care of the basilica, and more especially of the "Confession" of the Prince of the Apostles, for that had been entrusted by a constitution of S. Leo himself to clerks of a particular sort, the *Cubicularii*.[5] These monks were put there for the performance of the Divine service. Their monastery is believed to have been that of SS. John and Paul at the Vatican.

The foundation, in the fifth century, of this monastery, thus

[1] *L.P.* t. I. pp. 315, 319.

[2] See *L.P.* t. I. p. 234, and Mgr. Duchesne's note, p. 236: "Here we have, so far as the *Liber Pontificalis* is concerned, the first example of those monasteries founded in connexion with suburban basilicas, for the purpose of maintaining there the performance of the Divine Office with a regularity which it had not been possible to secure from the parochial clergy alone." Cf. H. Grisar, *Histoire de Rome et des Papes au moyen age* (French edition, 1906), t. I. p. 114.

[3] *L.P.* t. I. p. 239. [4] *ibid.* p. 249. [5] *ibid.* p. 239.

attached to the basilica of S. Peter, is a very important fact: this monastery is the most ancient of the basilican monasteries of Rome, the type on which was founded shortly after, under Pope Hilary (461-8), that attached to S. Laurence without the walls.[1] S. Gregory tells us of a monastery existing in his time, attached to S. John Lateran—"*monasterium Lateranense*".[2] The foundation of another monastery attached to the same basilica is attributed to Pope Honorius (625-38).[3]

The *Liber Pontificalis*, in the life of Pope Leo III (795-816), gives a list of the Roman monasteries at the end of the eighth century. At that time, Rome had no less than forty-nine. Included in this number are some of women and also convents of men unattached to any church: but there are a number of monasteries attached to basilicas. It is with these only that we have just now to do: they are as follows:—

Monasterium S. Pancratii qui ponitur juxta basilicam Salvatoris.
Mon SS. Andreae et Bartholomei qui appellatur Honori.
Mon S. Stephani qui ponitur juxta Lateranis.
Mon primi martyris Stephani qui ponitur ad B. Petrum Apostolum.
Mon SS. Johannis et Pauli qui ponitur juxta B. Petrum Apostolum.
Mon S. Martini qui ponitur ubi supra.
Mon S. Stephani ubi supra, qui appellatur cata Galla patricia.
Mon S. Cesarii qui ponitur ad B. Paulum Apostolum.
Mon S. Stephani ubi supra.
Mon SS. Cosme et Damiani qui ponitur juxta Praesepem.
Mon S. Andree qui appellatur Massa Juliana [ubi supra].
Mon S. Adriani qui ponitur juxta Praesepem.
Mon S. Cassiani qui ponitur juxta S. Laurentium foris murum.
Mon S. Stephani qui ponitur ubi supra.
Mon S. Victoris qui ponitur ad S. Pancratium.
Mon S. Andree qui ponitur juxta basilicam Apostolorum.
Mon S. Agapiti qui ponitur juxta titulum Eudoxie.
Mon SS. Eufemie et Archangeli qui ponitur juxta titulum Pudentis.
Mon S. Donati qui ponitur juxta titulum S. Priscae.
Mon Hierusalem qui ponitur ad B. Petrum Apostolum.

If we leave out this last monastery, which, according to a conjecture of Mgr. Duchesne's, is probably a convent of women, we have in all nineteen monasteries attached to basilicas.[4] The Vatican basilica has four: SS. John and Paul, dating from the fifth century; S. Stephen the greater, said to have been

[1] *L.P.* t. I. p. 245. [2] S. Greg. *Dialog.* II (prolog.).
[3] *L.P.* t. I. p. 324: "Fecit autem in domum suam juxta Lateranis monasterium in honorem SS. Andreae et Bartholomei, qui appelatur Honorii, ubi praedia et dona simul obtulit". This same *monasterium Honorii* is mentioned in the eighth century, in the Itinerary known as that of Einsiedeln. Urlichs, *Codex urbis Romae topographicus* (Würzburg, 1871), pp. 73, 74.
[4] *L.P.* t. II. pp. 22-5.

founded by Galla, daughter of the Consul and Patrician Symmachus, in the course of the sixth century; S. Stephen the less, dating from Pope Stephen II (752-7); and S. Martin, going back to the time of Pope Gregory III (731-41).[1] The Lateran basilica has three: S. Pancras, older than the time of S. Gregory, who refers to it as *Monasterium Lateranense;* SS. Andrew and Bartholomew, and S. Stephen, both of them of recent foundation at the date of our list. The two at S. Paul's without the Walls, viz. those of S. Cæsarius and S. Stephen, are monasteries refounded by Gregory II (715-31). So also are the three monasteries at S. Mary the greater, viz. those of S. Andrew, S. Adrian, and SS. Cosmas and Damian.[2]

There are passages in the *Liber Pontificalis* which enable us to understand the character of these basilican monasteries of the eighth century.

(1) The community is exempt from the authority of the priest of the "Title" to which it is attached—"*segregatum a jure potestatis presbiteri tituli*"—as we read in a document which is as it were the bull of foundation of the monastery attached to the church of S. Chrysogonus by Gregory III (731-41). (2) The community possesses funded property given to it by the Pope or by private donors, and it subsists on the income thus provided—"*pro sustentatione* [*Papa*] *praedia et dona atque familiam largitus est; et diversi alii fideles et amatores D. N. J. C. . . . praedia et dona devotissime contulerunt.*"[3] So far, we see nothing which distinguishes this monastery from an ordinary Benedictine one, but at this point the distinction begins. (3) When Paul I is founding the monastery of SS. Stephen and Sylvester in 791—a monastery not attached to any basilica—it is plain, judging by the bull

[1] The monastery of SS. John and Paul was upon the site now occupied by the Sixtine Chapel: S. Stephen the less upon that of the present sacristy of S. Peter's; the other two monasteries were by the apse of the basilica. S. Stephen the less was also called *De Agulia*, from the obelisk which is still standing. In *L.P.* t. I. p. 451, there is an important passage annexed to the notice of Pope Stephen II: "Officia quod per multo tempore relaxati fuerant nocturno tempore nocturnis horis explere fecit, et diurno officio similiter restauravit, ut ab antiquitus fuerat. Et a tribus monasteriis qui a prisco tempore in ecclesia B. Petri Apostoli eundem officium persolvant adjungens quartum, ibidem monachis qui adhuc in ipso conjungerentur officio instituit, atque abbatem super eos ordinavit. Et multa dona ibi largitus est, tam universa quae in monasterio necessaria sunt monachis, quamque foris immobilia loca, qui in psallentio B. Apostolorum principis Petri cum supradictis tribus monasteriis usque in hodiernum diem constituit." ["The offices which had long been neglected in the night-time, he caused to be duly performed in the nocturnal hours, and in like manner he restored the day office, as it had been of old, etc. etc."]

[2] *L.P.* t. II. pp. 43 *et seq.* [3] *L.P.* t. I. p. 418.

of foundation, that the Pope does not nominate the abbot, and that the community is self-governing.[1] On the contrary, whenever it is a question of basilican monasteries, as of those at the Vatican or at the Lateran, it is laid down that the abbot is to be chosen and invested by the Pope. (4) More than that, this abbot nominated by the Pope is not a professed monk, but, if one may so say, a prelate of the *carriera*. During the last years of the eighth century, under Leo III, the office of abbot of the monastery of S. Stephen the greater, one of the four monasteries attached to S. Peter's, having become vacant, whom does the Pope nominate to it? A Roman clerk, brought up in the *Patriarchium* of the Lateran, already ordained priest: his name is Paschal, an eloquent preacher, destined to succeed Stephen IV as Pope, in 817: "*ei monasterium B. Stephani primi Martyris qui appellatur majorem, juxta basilicam B. Petri principis Apostolorum, ad regendum commisit.*"[2] (5) And these monks themselves—monks under the government of a secular abbot—are not monks in the strict sense of the word. Stephen III (768-72), having come from Sicily to Rome quite young, was placed by Pope Gregory III in his monastery attached to S. Chrysogonus, where he became clerk and monk—"*illicque clericus atque monachus est effectus;*" and while being a monk there is no doubt as to his being in Holy Orders as well, for we find Pope Zachary (741-52) taking him from his monastery and attaching him to the service of the Camera—"*in Lateranensis Patriarchii cubiculo esse praecepit*"; after which he becomes priest of the title of S. Caecilia.[3] S. Chrodegang founded his Canons Regular—*clerici canonici*—at Metz on exactly the same footing, taking as his model, so Paul the Deacon assures us, what he had seen practised at Rome.[4]

And now, what is the office of these Roman basilican monks of the eighth century? To instruct young clerks in the ecclesiastical way of life, and the knowledge required in it, in co-operation with the *Vestiarium* of the pontifical palace? To lodge the pilgrims who come to visit the Apostolic sanctuaries?[5]

[1] Jaffé, 2346. [2] *L.P.* t. II. p. 52. [3] *L.P.* t. I. p. 468.

[4] *Paul. Diac. Gesta episc. Metensium* (*P.L.* XCV. 709): "Hic clerum adunavit, et ad instar coenobii intra claustrorum septa conversari fecit. . . . Ipsumque clerum abundanter lege divina Romanaque imbutum cantilena morem atque ordinem Romanae Ecclesiae servare praecepit." In the life of Pope Gregory IV (827-44) the title of *monachi canonici* is given to the Roman basilican monks. *L.P.* t. II. p. 78.

[5] *L.P.* t. II. p. 52: "[Paschalis] gratiam hospitalitatis in peregrinis et claudis qui ob amorem B. Petri Apostoli de longinquis regionibus ad ejus limina occur-

No doubt. But the *principal* office of these monks is to sing the Divine Service. And being both clerks and monks, this office of theirs is a double one. As clerks, they take part in the daily office of the clergy—I mean the vigils. As monks, they add to these the diurnal office peculiar to monks: terce, sext, and none.[1] Speaking of the refounding by Gregory II (715-31) of the monasteries attached to S. Paul's without the Walls, the author of the *Liber Pontificalis* writes:—

> Monasteria qui secus basilicam S. Pauli Apostoli erant ad solitudinem deducta innovavit; atque ordinatis servis Dei monachis, congregationem post longum tempus constituens, ut *tribus per diem vicibus et noctu matutinos*, dicerent, etc.

And again, as if afraid we might not ascribe to these words their full meaning, he repeats them soon after, indicating still more clearly the canonical character of the office:—

> Monasterium juxta [ecclesiam S. Dei Genetricis ad Praesepe] positum S. Andreae Apostoli, quod Barbare nuncupatur, ad nimiam deductus desertionem, in quibus ne unus habebatur monachus, restaurans, monachos faciens, ordinavit ut *tertiam*, *sextam*, *et nonam* vel *matutinos*, in eadem ecclesia S. Dei Genetricis cotidianis agerent diebus: et manet nunc usque pia ejus ordinatio.[2]

In other words, the monks at S. Paul's and S. Mary's the greater sing in their basilicas by night the vigil office, *noctu matutinos*, and besides this, by day, terce, sext, none, *tribus per diem vicibus*. This is early in the eighth century: a few years later, and it is no longer a question of terce, sext, and none only, but of prime and vespers as well. This is how the *Liber Pontificalis* speaks of Pope Hadrian I (772-95):—

> Hic . . . dum per alma exquisitione sua repperuisset monasterium quondam Honorii Papae in nimia desolatione per quandam neglegentiam evenire, divina inspiratione motus, a noviter eum aedificavit atque ditavit, et abbatem cum ceteros monachos regulariter ibidem vita degentes ordinavit. Et constituit eos in basilica Salvatoris, quae et Constantiniana, juxta Lateranensi Patriarchio posita, officio celebrari, hoc est *matutino*, *ora prima*, *et tertia*, *sexta*, *seu nona*, *etiam et vespertina*, ab uno choro qui dudum singulariter in utrosque psallebant, monachi monasterii S. Pancratii ibidem posito, et ab altero choro, monachi jamfati monasterii SS. Andreae et Bartholomei qui appellatur Honorii Papae, etc.[3]

This passage specifies that the monks of the two monasteries attached to the Lateran are to chant the office in choir in the

rebant, utiliter praeparans necessaria subministrabat." Paschal was at that time abbot of S. Stephen's the greater.

[1] On the separateness of the offices for the secular clergy and the monks, see W. C. Bishop, "The Mozarabic Breviary," *Church Quarterly Review*, April, 1911.

[2] *L.P.* t. I. pp. 397-8. [3] *ibid.* p. 506.

basilica, comprising the nocturnal office of the vigils, and the day office of terce, sext, and none, to which, now and henceforth, we find added prime and vespers.[1]

We detect in these passages some indications of the liturgical evolution which took place at Rome between the end of the seventh century and the middle of the eighth, under monastic influence: I mean the daily juxtaposition of the traditional vigil of the clergy and the monastic hours of prayer. But is there not something more than this juxtaposition? Has not the vigil office of the clergy as it was set forth in the *Liber Diurnus* in the seventh century undergone a complete transformation? Was not that arrangement of the psalms and lessons in the vigil office at Rome at the end of the eighth century, which we are about to examine in the next chapter —an arrangement so perceptibly different from what it had been at the beginning of the seventh, judging by the *Liber Diurnus*—brought about by the basilican monks?[2]

And this liturgical evolution, which took place in the basilicas of Rome between the end of the seventh century and the middle of the eighth, was due to the preponderating influence of the Vatican basilica. It is certain that in the time of Gregory III (731-41) the monks of the three monasteries then existing in connexion with that basilica were already wont to sing vespers every day before the "Confession" of the Prince of the Apostles. We know this from the following passage taken from the constitutions of a Roman synod of the year 732 :—

Tria illa monasteria quae secus basilicam Apostoli sunt constituta, SS. Johannis et Pauli, S. Stephani, et S. Martini, id est eorum congregatio, omnibus diebus dum vesperas expleverint ante confessionem. . . .[3]

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[1] Similarly of the monks attached to the basilica of S. Mark: "Matutino, hora prima, tertia et sexta atque nona, seu vespera" (*ibid.* p. 507). And of the monastery of nuns attached to the basilica of S. Eugenia: "Hora prima, tertia, sexta, nona, vespera, et matutino" (*ibid.* p. 510). See also (pp. 501 and 511) what is said of the office of the monasteries of the Vatican and S. Mary's the greater: Pope Hadrian lays down regulations in each case for the office to be sung in the basilicas. Here is the passage which relates to the Vatican (p. 501): "Constituit in monasterio S. Stephani cata Barbara Patricia, situm ad B. Petrum Apostolum, congregationem monachorum, ubi et Abbatem idoneam personam ordinans, statuit ut sedulus laudes in ecclesia B. Petri persolvant, sicut et cetera tria monasteria; ut duo monasteria per latera ipsius ecclesiae Deo nostro canant laudes; quoniam ipsum monasterium in magna desidia et neglectus incuria positus erat, et nullum officium divino cultu ibidem exhibebatur."

[2] Note that the passages above cited for the purpose of indicating the liturgical usages at Rome in the eighth century make no mention of *compline*. Vespers is at that time the sole evening prayer.

[3] This passage is taken from a code of regulations established by a synod of the clergy of Rome, which were engraved on marble tablets in the basilica of S.

And the same Pope, when founding the monastery attached to the basilica of S. Chrysogonus, specifies that the monks of the said monastery are to sing the praises of God in that basilica, not only by night, but also by day, according to the custom of the basilica of S. Peter:—

Constituens monachorum congregationem, ad persolvendas Deo laudes in eumdem titulum diurnis atque nocturnis temporibus ordinatam, secundum instar officiorum ecclesiae B. Petri Apostoli.

So also he restores and reorganizes the monasteries of the Lateran:—

Congregationem monachorum . . . constituit ad persolvenda cotidie sacra officia laudis divine in basilica Salvatoris D. N. J. C. quae Constantiniana nuncupatur, juxta Lateranis, diurnis nocturnisque temporibus ordinata, juxta instar officiorum ecclesiae B. Petri Apostoli.[1]

The liturgy used at S. Peter's became the pattern of all liturgy. The monasteries which served this basilica were also the most ancient in Rome, going back to the time of S. Leo: their customs constituted a tradition which, even in Rome itself, possessed an exceptional authority. Their abbots or rectors, who were, as we have seen, clerks, added to their functions as abbots the still more important office of chief chanters of S. Peter's; they were the leading authorities on liturgy for the Roman Church. The anonymous Frankish writer on liturgy whom I have already mentioned, and of whom I shall have more to say anon, has preserved for us the names of three of these rectors; he places them next after the Popes Leo, Gelasius, Symmachus, John, Boniface, Gregory and Martin, as the masters of liturgy and ecclesiastical music in the Roman Church who were in his time the most recent in date and of the greatest authority:—

Post istos quoque Catalenus Abba, ibi deserviens ad sepulcrum S. Petri, et ipse quidem anni circuli cantum diligentissime edidit.

Post hunc quoque Maurianus Abba, ipsius S. Petri Apostoli serviens, annalem suum cantum et ipse nobile ordinavit.

Post hunc vero Domnus Virbonus Abba et omnem cantum anni circuli magnifice ordinavit.[2]

What Rome stood for to the devotion and imagination of the Latin-speaking peoples of the West in the height of the

Peter, and parts of these tablets are still preserved. See the whole passage in Duchesne's *Liber Pontificalis*, t. I. pp. 422-4.

[1] *L.P.* t. I. pp. 418-9.

[2] Anon. Gerb. v. 6 (see further on, p. 119). The right reading is "Domnus Virbonus," not "Domnus, vir bonus". The use of the title *Domnus* indicates that this Abbot was still alive when the document was written.

Middle Ages[1] has been often told, and never better than in those rude inscriptions which met the eyes of pilgrims to the eternal city.

Quis neget has arces instar esse poli ?

was to be read in the sixth century on the gate of Rome known as S. Peter's gate. Or again :—

Nunc coelo est similis, nunc inclyta Roma vere[nda] ;
Cujus claustra docent intus inesse Deum.[2]

On the triumphal arch of the basilica of the Vatican was inscribed :—

Quod duce te mundus surrexit in astra triumphans,
Hanc Constantinus victor tibi condidit aulam.[3]

S. Peter's was pre-eminently the sanctuary venerated by the whole of Latin Catholicism, and the tomb of the Apostle the corner-stone of the Western Church :—

Magna quidem servat venerabile Roma sepulchrum
In quo pro Christi nomine passus obit.[4]

The eyes of all were turned towards that august "Confession". Pilgrims came thither every day from the farthest corners of Britain, just as much as from the valleys of the Loire and the Rhine. And these regarded the liturgy in use at S. Peter's as in an especial degree the absolute canon of what liturgy should be.

Benedict Biscop (628-90), the famous abbot of Wearmouth, the teacher of Bede, was one of these pilgrims of the seventh century, so full of devotion to the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles : five times did he make the pilgrimage from England to Rome. It was at Rome that he sought advice as to the plan of his abbey at Wearmouth. In memory of Rome he determined

[1] J. Guiraud, *Rome, ville sainte au V^e Siècle* (*Compte rendu du IV^e Congrès Scient. internat. des Cath.* Fribourg, 1897, pp. 106 *et seq.*). Cf. *Vita antiquiss. S. Gregorii*, 28 (ed. Gasquet, p. 37) : "Romae quae urbium caput est orbisque domina". The author wrote about A.D. 713, at Whitby. Compare the dedicatory inscription of the *Codex Amiatinus*, presented to the basilica of S. Peter by Ceolfrid, Abbot of Wearmouth, in 716 :—

"Corpus ad eximii merito venerabile Petri
Dedicat ecclesiae quem caput alta fides."

Cf. my article, "Amiatinus" in *Dict. de la Bible* (Vigouroux), where I have summed up the work of De Rossi.

[2] De Rossi, *Inscript.* t. II. p. 99.

[3] Urlichs, p. 60. [The "triumphal arch" is the great arch across the basilica at the entrance of the apse.—A.B.]

[4] De Rossi, p. 113 : an inscription of the church of S. Peter at Spoleto (fifth century).

that it should bear the name of S. Peter. At Rome he bought the books for his monks. From Rome, above all, he derived the office and the chant which they were to use. Finally he asked Pope Agatho (678-81) to furnish him with some Roman clerks, who might come to Wearmouth to instruct the Anglo-Saxon monks in the customs of the monks at Rome. And the Pope, granting his request, entrusted this commission to "the venerable John, chief chanter of the church of the Apostle S. Peter, and abbot of the Monastery of S. Martin," one of the four Vatican monasteries. Benedict Biscop accordingly brought the said Abbot John from Rome into Britain, "in order that at Wearmouth he might teach the monks in his monastery to sing the office as it was sung at S. Peter's at Rome".[1]

It is a fact full of instruction, and not hitherto sufficiently dwelt on, that the basilica of S. Peter, with its *Scola cantorum* and its chief chanters, was the fountain head of the Roman canonical office. It became recognized as such in the third quarter of the seventh century, thanks to that irresistible movement of devotion and admiration which induced monks from beyond the Alps no longer to look upon as truly *Roman* anything but the office used by the monks of S. Peter's: and to borrow from that office the distribution of the psalter, the order of the lectionary, the words of the antiphons and responds, and the cycle of the feasts—those namely of the seasons of the Christian year. Such was the renown and such the authority of the rule of Divine Service in use in the basilica of S. Peter, even at a time when it was not yet codified—for the abbot John was obliged, at Wearmouth, to set about writing down at all events a *directorium* of it, for the greater convenience of the Anglo-Saxon monasteries. When at last the office of S. Peter's was codified, and it became possible for those *Libri responsales* or antiphonaries to make their way elsewhere, which,

[1] Bede, *Hist. Anglor.* iv. 18 (*P.L.* xcv. 199): "Vir venerabilis Johannes archicantator ecclesiae S. Apostoli Petri, et Abbas monasterii B. Martini . . . venerat a Roma per jussionem Papae Agathonis . . . quatenus in monasterio [Abbatis Biscopi] cursum canendi annuum, sicut ad S. Petrum Romae agebatur, edoceret. Egitque Abbas Johannes ut jussionem acceperat pontificis, et ordinem videlicet ritumque canendi ac legendi viva voce praefati monasterii cantores edocendo, et ea quae totius anni circulus in celebratione dierum festorum poscebat etiam litteris mandando."

In *Revue Bénédictine*, 1911, pp. 296-330, "Liturgie et basiliques de Rome au milieu du VII^e siècle," Dom Morin gives a study of the list of "Stations" indicated in the Lectionary at Wurzburg (MS. 62). He believes that this list of festivals and stations corresponds to the state of the liturgy in the period from 642 to 672, and that, since it comes from England, it may be connected with this visit of John, the chief chanter of S. Peter's, to Wearmouth.

though they bore the name of S. Gregory, were in reality simply the books in use at S. Peter's, they at once made the conquest of the Frankish Churches.[1]

But before considering this success of the Roman basilican office, we have to explain how there was formed and developed the office of the cemetery churches—in other words the *Sanctorale* of the Roman Church—and how it was eventually introduced into the office of the Roman basilicas.

III.

The festivals of the saints, at Rome as in all other Christian Churches, were originally the anniversaries of local martyrs. And it is thus that the history of the Roman saints' days is bound up with that of the cemeteries and cemetery churches on the outskirts of Rome.

The churches within the walls did not at first bear the names of saints. The "Titles" or presbyteral churches were named after the Pope or other Christian at whose cost they had been founded. Thus, in the fourth and fifth centuries people spoke of "the Title of Vestina," "of Lucina," "of Fasciola," "of Damasus," "of Pudens," "of Clement," by way of designating these parish churches.[2] It was only in the latter part of the sixth century and during the seventh, that the churches of the Deaconries were founded, and received the names of saints: among these we find, within the walls, the basilicas of SS. Cosmas and Damian, S. Adrian, SS. Sergius and Bacchus, S. Lucy, etc., and they are thus named in imitation of the suburban basilicas, which had been built over the actual tombs of the martyrs and on that account were called by their names.

It was, in fact, only in these suburban cemeteries that the anniversaries of the martyrs were originally celebrated, just as were those of the departed members of each family. A passage in the *Liber Pontificalis*, not particularly clear, attributes to Pope Felix (269-74) the institution of Eucharistic assemblies at the tombs of the martyrs; but, as has been remarked, this passage in reality testifies to nothing more than the contemporary customs at Rome, at the time when this text of the

[1] As to the influence of the Roman office on the Gallican before the time of Pepin, see Dom Morin, "Fragments inédits d'antiphonaire Gallican," *Revue Bénédictine*, 1905, pp. 329-57.

[2] See the signatures to the Constitutions of the Roman Synod of A.D. 499, under Pope Symmachus, in the *Variae* of Cassiodorus (Mommsen's edition of *M.G.*), pp. 410-15.

Liber was edited, i.e. the beginning of the sixth century.[1] Nevertheless, thanks to Prudentius, we know that such a custom existed at the beginning of the fifth century: viz. that on the anniversary of the death of a martyr Mass was celebrated, either at the altar of the cemetery church which had been built over his tomb, or at the very spot where the body rested in the catacomb itself (if that was still in existence), at an altar erected by the tomb. This Mass *ad corpus*, with its necessarily restricted number of worshippers, was, by force of circumstances, *quasi* private; but the other, on the contrary, celebrated as it was in a building often of great size, or even in the open air on the *area* of the cemetery, was a public Mass; the people could assist at it in crowds. Speaking of the anniversary of S. Hippolytus on the Tiburtine way, Prudentius distinguishes carefully between the crypt, where the body of the martyr reposes and the faithful come every day to pray by themselves—

> Haud procul extremo culta ad pomaeria vallo
> Mersa latebrosis crypta patet foveis—

and the basilica (in this case that of S. Laurence) erected on the level of the ground above, whither, on the anniversary, the people of Rome, and pilgrims from afar, come in crowds to assist at the Eucharistic solemnities—

> Jam quum se renovat decursis mensibus annus,
> Natalemque diem passio festa refert . . .
> Urbs augusta suos vomit effunditque Quirites . . .
> Exsultant fremitus variarum hinc inde viarum . . .
> Stet sed juxta aliud quod tanta frequentia templum
> Tunc adeat, cultu nobile regifico . . .
> Plena laborantes aegre domus accipit undas
> Arctaque confertis aestuat in foribus.[2]

The life of S. Melania has informed us that the feast of S. Laurence was solemnized by a Mass, preceded by a nocturnal vigil.[3] That such vigils formed part of the anniversary service of the martyrs we also know from what is said by the author of the treatise *De haeresi praedestinatorum*, who, writing in the fifth century, tells us that the basilica of SS. Processus and Martinian, at the second milestone on the Aurelian Way, had been recovered out of the hands of the heretical sect of the Tertullianists, who had established in it their form of worship (392-4).

[1] *L.P.* t. I. p. 158.
[2] Prudent. *Peristeph.* XI. 153 *et seq.* Cf. Card. Rampolla, p. 267.
[3] See above, p. 32, footnote 3.

Their expulsion took place at latest during the pontificate of Innocent I (401-17). And this author writes of it thus: "*Martyrum suorum Deus excubias Catholicae festivitati restituit*". Now *excubiae* is a recognized synonym for *vigiliae*.[1]

If we may be allowed to have recourse to the customs of lands north of the Alps for an explanation of Roman customs, we shall find an excellent illustration of them in the description given by Sidonius Apollinaris of the vigils celebrated at Lyons at the tomb of S. Justus, on the anniversary of that martyr. "We went," he says, "to the tomb of S. Justus before daylight, to keep his anniversary—*processio antelucana, solemnitas anniversaria.* The crowd was enormous, so that the basilica and the crypt and the porches together, could not contain it. First, the vigils were celebrated, the psalms being chanted by alternate choirs of monks and clerks—*cultu peracto vigiliarum, quas alternante mulcedine monachi clericique psalmicines concelebraverunt.* After the vigils everyone walked about as he pleased, taking care not to go too far away, for it was necessary to be back by the hour of terce for the solemn Mass—*ad tertiam praesto futuri, cum sacerdotibus res divina facienda.*"[2]

At Rome, in the course of the fourth century, not only had the historic vaults of the catacombs been arranged for worship of this nature, but basilicas had been built on the *area* of most of the cemeteries. I have mentioned S. Laurence's on the Tiburtine Way, and many more might be added: such as S. Sylvester's in the cemetery of Priscilla, SS. Nereus and Achilles in the cemetery of Domitilla, etc. The care which we see taken in the most ancient Roman kalendars—such as the Philocalian kalendar of the year 354[3]— to record the *Locus Depositionis* of each saint whose feast is kept, is a proof that these feasts were celebrated at the actual place of sepulture. The sacramentary known as the Leonine, certainly the most

[1] *Praedestinat.* I. 86 (*P.L.* LIII. 617). In 403, S. Jerome wrote (*Epist.* CVII. 1): "Auratum squalet Capitolium. Fuligine et aranearum telis omnia Romae templa cooperta sunt. Movetur urbs sedibus suis, et inundans populus ante delubra semiruta, currit ad martyrum tumulos". Compare with this passage the Preface given in the Leonine sacramentary for the Mass of the "*Natale S. Xisti in coemeterio Callisti, et Felicissimi et Agapiti in coemeterio Praetextati, via Appia*" (*P.L.* LV. 91). It begins thus: "Quoniam inter innumeras toto mundo martyrum palmas, quibus urbis hujus praecipue coronatus est ambitus . . .".

[2] Sidon. *Epist.* CVII. 9.

[3] To speak more exactly, the two tables of anniversaries, "*Depositio episcoporum*" and "*Depositio martyrum*," contained in the chronographic collection of that year. These two tables are reproduced by Mgr. Duchesne, *L.P.* t. I. pp. 10-12.

ancient Roman Missal which we possess, being undoubtedly anterior to the time of S. Gregory, while some parts may be as old as the end of the fourth century, indicates, in the case of all the festivals of saints included in it, the place where they are celebrated; and it is always in a suburban cemetery that the meeting-place for the faithful is appointed. One may gather indications to the same effect from the homilies of S. Gregory; in fact, if we find the Pope preaching to the people on the *natale* of a martyr, we may be sure that it is in the cemetery basilica belonging to that martyr, i.e. in some church without the walls. Such was the state of things at the beginning of the seventh century.

But in ceasing, after the taking of Rome by Alaric and his Goths in 410, to be the ordinary cemeteries of the Roman parishes, and so becoming mere places of pilgrimage, the catacombs lost many of their visitors, and suffered a corresponding diminution in the number of those who officiated there. In the fifth century the gravediggers (*fossores*) disappear from the scene. The custom of celebrating, in these ancient cities of the dead, private anniversary Masses for the departed became extinct in the following century, when we find Pope John III (561-74) endeavouring to restore this devotion, and obliged to defray himself the moderate expense of keeping up even a Sunday celebration of the Holy Mysteries in the ancient cemeteries.[1]

Thus with the sixth century commenced the period of gradual ruin and neglect.[2] To this the siege of Rome by the Goths in 537 contributed more than anything else: "*nam et ecclesias et corpora martyrum exterminatae sunt a Gothis*," writes the editor of the life of Pope Silverius (536-7).[3]

> Dum peritura Gethae posuissent castra sub Urbe
> Moverunt sanctis bella nefanda prius;
> Istaque sacrilego verterunt corde sepulchra
> Martyribus quondam rite sacrata piis.

So says an inscription in the cemetery *Jordanodum*, on the new Salarian Way, recording the restorations undertaken after the devastations of the Goths.[4] Nor did the Lombards,

[1] *L.P.* t. I. p. 305: "Hic amavit et restauravit cymiteria sanctorum martyrum, etc.".

[2] *Ibid.* p. 464: "neglectus atque desidia antiquitatis" (in the notice of Pope Paul I.).

[3] *Ibid.* p. 291.

[4] De Rossi, *Inscript.* t. II. p. 100. Cf. *L.P.* t. I. p. 293, note 11 of Mgr. Duchesne's Commentary.

in the time of S. Gregory and after, show any more respect than the Goths for these holy places. In the midst of all these panics and disasters, what was to become of the cultus of the martyrs? When the *locus depositionis* had become inaccessible for worship, would the anniversary of the saint cease to be kept? Was it not possible for the *Cultus martyrum* to migrate into the interior of the city of Rome, and find a shelter within her walls?

This migration coincides with, and is marked by, the period when the Roman churches begin to be designated by the names of saints. The churches of the deaconries, founded in the latter part of the sixth century and in the course of the seventh, had, as we have seen, been all along so designated. And about the same time the presbyteral Titles assume the names of martyrs: the *titulus Pudentis* becomes S. Pudentiana's; the *titulus Priscae*, S. Prisca's; the *titulus Anastasiae*, S. Anastasia's; the *titulus Clementis*, S. Clement's. This transformation of the names of the basilicas was completed in the eighth century. The same idea which led to the names of saints foreign to Rome being bestowed on the churches of the deaconries, had, even in the fifth century, caused the consecration of basilicas within the walls of Rome bearing the names of the Virgin Mary and the Holy Apostles. The anniversary of the dedication of these urban churches most often coincided with the date set down in the martyrologies as the anniversary of the saint whose name the particular church bore. Thus it was that the festivals of non-local saints were the first to establish themselves in the churches within the walls of Rome. Then, beginning from the seventh century, the relics of martyrs came to be translated from the suburbs into the basilicas of the city—those of SS. Primus and Felicianus in 648, from the fifteenth milestone on the Nomentan Way; those of SS. Simplicius, Faustinus, and Viatrix, in 682, from the fifth milestone on the road to Porto. In the eighth century, after the siege of Rome by Astolphus and the Lombards in 756, the bodies of the principal martyrs were translated even from the catacombs nearest to Rome to churches within the walls: and their cultus followed them thither.[1]

[1] De Rossi, *Roma Sotter.* t. 1. p. 221. In the time of Gregory III (731-41) the anniversaries of the martyrs were still observed with vigils in the cemeteries: "disposuit ut in cimiteriis circumquaque positis Romae, in die nataliciorum eorum luminaria ad vigilias faciendum . . . deportentur". *L.P.* t. 1. p. 421. But under Paul I (757-67) all such worship ceases: "cernens plurima eorundem sanctorum cymiteriorum loca . . . demolitione atque jam vicina ruine posita,

While the festivals of the saints thus ceased to be observed in the cemeteries, they did not as yet lose their strictly *local* character. Where the relics of the saint reposed, there was observed his festival; and now also, by analogy, to the church which bore the name of any saint belonged the keeping of the festival of that saint. Thus the feasts of the Virgin Mary were observed at S. Mary's the greater; of SS. Cosmas and Damian at their own basilica; of SS. Simplicius and Faustinus at the basilica of S. Bibiana; and so with others. In the Roman *Ordo* in the library at Montpellier, which is of the eighth century,[1] occurs the following rubric: The archdeacon, at the pontifical High Mass, before giving Communion to the faithful, is to give notice of any approaching station as follows: "Such a day is the anniversary (*natale*) of such a saint, martyr, or confessor, which will be kept at such or such a place"; which proves that the festivals of the *sanctorale*, even when celebrated within the walls of Rome, remained merely local feasts.[2] There is another proof of the same fact in the life of Pope Gregory III (731-41). He constructs in the basilica of S. Peter an oratory "in honour of the Saviour, the Virgin Mary, the Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and all the Just," and ordains that, every day, after vespers have been said before the Confession of S. Peter, the monks of the three monasteries attached to the basilica shall proceed to the new oratory and sing there "three psalms"[3] in honour of the saints whose anniversaries fall on that day—*quorum natalicia fuerint.* In

protinus eadem sanctorum corpora de ipsis dirutis abstulit cymiteriis: quae cum hymnis et canticis spiritalibus infra hanc civitatem Romanam introducens, alia eorum per Titulos et Diaconias seu monasteria et reliquas ecclesias cum condecenti studuit recondi honore". *L.P.* t. I. p. 464.

[1] *Ordo* of Montpellier, fol. 92: "Tunc archidiaconus accepto ipso calice vadet juxta altare in dexteram partem, et tenens ipsum calicem in manibus suis, pronuntians venturam stationem dicendo: *Illa feria veniente natale est illius sancti sive martirum sive confessorum in illo et illo loco.* Et respondent omnes: *Deo gratias.*" This rubric is to be found yet earlier, and in a more precise form, in the Gelasian sacramentary (seventh century): "In illo igitur loco, vel in illa via, illa feria, hanc eamdem festivitatem solita devotione celebremus." *P.L.* LXXIV. 1155. On the other hand, in the so-called Gregorian sacramentary, which is rather the sacramentary of Pope Hadrian I (772-95), this rubric has disappeared.

[2] *Ordo* of Montpellier, fol. 95 (speaking of the feast of the Purification): "Postea quidem die secundo mense Februario, quod est IIII. Non. ipsius mensis, colleguntur omnes, tam clerus Romanae Ecclesiae quam et omnes monachi monasteriorum, cum omni populo suburbano, seu et copiosa multitudo peregrinorum de quacunque provintia congregati, venientes ad ecclesia B. Adriani mane prima. . . . Et procedunt omnes cum magna reverentia ad S. Mariam Majorem."

[3] "Tres psalmos et evangelia matutina Deo canant."

other words, since the daily office did not make any commemoration of the saints whose festivals were marked in the Roman kalendar, the Pope institutes a commemorative office all by itself, in order that these saints, whose festivals were being kept elsewhere, should not be forgotten in the basilica of S. Peter.[1] Commenting on this passage Mgr. Duchesne observes; "This liturgical foundation of Gregory III is not mentioned in the lives of the Popes who succeed him, nor in any other passage, so far as I know. Probably the monks soon shook themselves free from a somewhat burdensome service."[2] May it not rather be the case that this foundation or ordinance of Gregory III was transformed into another, whose existence was more lasting? And what would this be but the celebration at S. Peter's of the *natalitia* of the saints of the Roman kalendar generally?

Passiones sanctorum vel gesta ipsorum usque Adriani tempora tantummodo ibi legebantur ubi ecclesia ipsius sancti vel titulus erat: ipse vero a tempore suo rennuere[3] jussit, ut [for et] in ecclesia S. Petri legendas esse constituit.

Thus we read in the *Ordo* of the Vallicellan Library published by Tomasi.[4] This indeed amounts to no more than a hint: what is more than a hint is the fact that the Carolingian litur-

[1] *L.P.* t. I. p. 421: [Constituit] pro celebranda sollemnia vigiliarum atque missarum Christi Domini Nostri, Sancteque Ejus Genetricis, SS. Apostolorum, vel omnium sanctorum et confessorum, perfectorum justorum, toto in orbe terrarum requiescentium, ut in oratorio nomini eorum dedicato intro ecclesiam B. Petri, sub arco principali, a monachis vigiliae celebrentur, et a presbyteris ebdomadariis missarum sollemnia." The synod of 732 is more explicit: "Ut sanctorum festa celebrentur in oratorio quod a me constructum est in honore Salvatoris, S. Dei Genetricis semperque virginis Mariae Dominae nostrae, sanctorumque Apostolorum, martyrum quoque et confessorum Christi, perfectorum justorum, intro ecclesiam S. Petri Apostolorum principis, et ut tria illa monasteria . . . tres psalmos et evangelia matutina Deo canant. His expletis, presbyter qui in hebdoma fuerit . . . in eundem oratorium in honorem Salvatoris, Dei Genetricis, SS. Apostolorum, Martyrum et confessorum, perfectorum justorum, quorum natalicia fuerint [missam faciet]." And in the Canon of the said Mass, after "Imprimis etc. . . . omnium sanctorum," he is to add: "Sed et natalicium celebrantes sanctorum tuorum martyrum ac confessorum, perfectorum justorum, quorum solemnitas hodie in conspectu gloriae Tuae celebratur." Quoted by Duchesne, *L.P.* t. I. p. 422.

[2] *Ibid.* 423.

[3] *Rennuere* = "disallow". The *Decretum Gelasii de libris recipiendis*, speaking of the chronicle and history of Eusebius, declares that they are not condemned: "usque quoque non dicimus rennuendos."

[4] Tomasi, *Opera omnia*, ed. Vezzosi (Rome, 1747-64), t. IV. p. 325. This *Ordo* is extracted from the MS. D. 5 (tenth to eleventh century) in the Vallicellan Library at Rome. I have collated Tomasi's text with the MS. The information which it gives is confirmed by the following passage of a letter from Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne: "Passiones SS. Martyrum sancti canones censuerunt ut liceat eas etiam in ecclesia legi, quum anniversarii dies eorum celebrantur.

gists, when introducing into France the Roman canonical office, are not aware of any other state of things than this, viz. that the *sanctorale* forms an integral part of that canonical office. [1]

The time had in fact come, and—another significant coincidence, it came with the pontificate of the immediate successors of Gregory III—when the office used at S. Peter's was to establish its rule over the Frankish Churches; when the same sentiment which in the course of the seventh century had made popular in England the *cursus* and the chant of S. Peter's was to lead to the adoption of the same chant and office by the Frankish bishops; when there would be no longer only basilicas at Rome like that of S. Chrysogonus, but distant cathedrals such as those of Metz and Rouen, where the Divine Office would be henceforth celebrated *juxta instar officiorum B. Petri Apostoli*. In France, as in England a hundred years before, this adoption of the Roman liturgy is spontaneous: we see the liturgy of Rome attracting devotion to itself for the sake of S. Peter, and by reason of its own inherent beauty.[2] S. Chrodegang, like Benedict Biscop, became deeply imbued with devotion to the customs of Rome and of S. Peter's. On his

[1] Amalarius, *De ord. antiph.* 28:—

"Multa officia sanctorum indidi in nostro antiphonario ex Romano, quae non habet Metensis antiphonarius. Cogitavi, cur ea omitterem? Quum eadem auctoritate fulciantur qua et illa quae scripta invenimus in Metensi antiphonario, scilicet sanctae Matris nostrae Romanae Ecclesiae."

"I have inserted in our antiphonary from the Roman one many offices of the saints, which are not in the antiphonary of Metz. For, thought I, why should I omit them? Seeing they rest on the very same authority as those do which we find written in the antiphonary of Metz: viz. on that of our holy mother the Roman Church."

Cf. Mansi, t. XII. p. 395, canon 13 of the council of Cloveshoo in 747:—

"Dominicae dispensationis festivitates . . . in cantilenae modo celebrentur, juxta exemplar videlicet quod scriptum de Romana habemus Ecclesia. Itemque ut per gyrum totius anni natalicia sanctorum uno eodem die, juxta martyrologium ejusdem Romanae Ecclesiae cum sua sibi convenienti psalmodia seu cantilena venerentur."

"Let the festivals of our Lord's dispensation be observed with chant in such sort as accords with the copy which we have received from the Roman Church. And so likewise let the anniversary of each saint throughout the whole year be celebrated on that very day which is appointed in the martyrology of the same Roman Church, and with the psalmody and chant that belongeth thereto."

[2] In the ninth century we find quite a different state of things, as testified by the letter in which Pope Leo IV (847-55) reproaches Honoratus (supposed to have been abbot of Farfa) with having no feeling but one of aversion for the "dulcedinem Gregoriani carminis cum sua, quam in ecclesia traditione canendi legendique ordinavit et tradidit," so that the abbot is in disagreement with the See of Rome, and equally so with "omni pene occidentali Ecclesia". Leo IV intimates his intention of imposing the observance of the "traditionem nostri sancti praesulis," under pain of excommunication. See the text of this letter in *M.G., Epistolae Carolini Aevi* (1899), t. III. pp. 603-4.

return from a pilgrimage to the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles in 754, being desirous of securing the regular performance of the offices, both nocturnal and diurnal, in the cathedral of Metz, he founded a college of clergy, on the model of the monastic communities attached to the basilicas at Rome, and gave to these clerks regular for their observance the Roman *Ordo* of the office and the Roman chant: "*Clerum abundanter lege divina Romanaque imbutum cantilena, morem atque ordinem Romanae Ecclesiae servare praecepit, quod usque ad id tempus in Metensi Ecclesia factum minime fuit*".[1] Before the death of the great bishop of Metz his example had been followed by Remedius, archbishop of Rouen. He also was returning from a pilgrimage to Rome when he brought to Rouen, in 760, by permission of Pope Paul, the second in command—the vice principal, as we might say—of the *Scola cantorum*, to initiate his clergy into "the modulations of the Roman psalmody". Then, this Roman chanter being obliged within a short time to return to Rome, Remedius sends his clerks to finish their course of instruction at Rome itself, in the *Scola cantorum*.[2] He wished to have at Rouen, as Chrodegang had wished to have at Metz, the pure and genuine *Ordo* and chant of S. Peter's.[3] Then, in his turn, Pepin extends to all the Frankish Churches the reform inaugurated at Metz and Rouen, commanding all their bishops to give up the Gallican *Ordo*, to learn the Roman chant, and to celebrate the Divine Office henceforth in conformity with the custom of the Holy See. Such are the terms used by the Emperor Charlemagne, when renewing, in 789, the decree of Pepin.[4]

[1] Paul. Diac. *Gesta episcoporum Metensium* (*P.L.* xcv. 709). Cf. Monach. Sangallen. *De gestis Caroli*, i. 11 (*P.L.* xcviii. 1378).

[2] Jaffé, 2371 (*P.L.* xcviii. 200). Paul I writes to Pepin that he has been asked to see to the completion of the instruction of the monks of Archbishop Remedius: "praesentes Deo amabilis Remedii, germani vestri, monachos Simeoni Scolae cantorum priori contradere, ad instruendum eos in psalmodiae modulatione". The vice principal who had been sent to Rouen was named Simeon. He was recalled to Rome owing to the death of the Principal, by name George, to whom he succeeded: "defuncto praefato Georgio, et in ejus idem Simeon, utpote sequens illius accedens locum, ideo pro doctrina Scolae eum ad nos accersivimus." The Rouen monks are to come to Rome, and the Pope entrusts them once more to Simeon: "eosque optime collocantes, solerti industria eamdem psalmodiae modulationem instrui praecepimus."

[3] Compare *Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium* [S. Wandrille], 16, in Pertz (M.G.), *Scriptores*, t. ii. (1829), p. 292: "[Gervoldus abbas reliquit] antiphonarium Romanae Ecclesiae, volumen unum". See in the same place what is said of his love for the chant. He died in 806.

[4] *P.L.* xcvii. 180, and Pertz, M.G. *Leg.* t. i. (1855), p. 44; "Omni clero. Ut cantum Romanum pleniter discant, et ordinabiliter per nocturnale vel gradale

The conclusion, then, which we must draw from all these important facts is that by about the middle of the eighth century the Roman Office is already codified, and supplants in France the old Gallican Office. The antiphonary called Gregorian—in reality the antiphonary of S. Peter's—has now been written out and completed. In fact, about A.D. 760, we have Pope Paul I sending to King Pepin a copy of the antiphonary, or collection of the antiphons and responds of the Roman Office.[1] A similar collection had been brought by S. Chrodegang to Metz in 754.

It is this liturgical work, thus for the first time codified—or at all events, so far as we know, making its appearance in a codified form—about A.D. 750, which we have now to describe in detail, reconstructing, so far as our historical resources permit, that Roman Office by which our forefathers, the pilgrims of the eighth century, were so powerfully attracted that they did not hesitate to renounce in its favour the liturgical traditions which belonged to their own churches.

officium peragatur, secundum quod beatae memoriae genitor noster Pippinus Rex decertavit ut fieret, quando Gallicanum tulit, ob unanimitatem Apostolicae Sedis, et sanctae Dei Ecclesiae pacificam concordiam."

[1] Jaffé, 2359 (*P.L.* LXXXIX. 1157): "Direximus etiam Praecellentiae vestrae et libros, quantos reperire potuimus, id est Antiphonale et Responsale, insimul Artem grammaticam, Aristotelis, Dionysii Areopagiti libros, Geometricam, Orthographiam, Grammaticam, omnes Graeco eloquio scriptores, necnon et Horologium nocturnum". The antiphonary brought from Rome to Corbey by the abbot Wala, in the time of Gregory IV (827-44), bore the name of Pope Hadrian I. At the head of it was written: "Incipit Responsoriale de circulo anni, temporibus ter beatissimi et Apostolici Domini Adriani Papae, per indictionem septimam [i.e. 783-4]". And at the end: "Hoc opus summus parat pontifex Dominus Adrianus sibi memoriale per saecla". Amalar. *De ord. Antiph.* (prologue).

CHAPTER III.

THE ROMAN OFFICE OF THE TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE.

FOR the purpose of describing the Roman Office of the time of Charlemagne, *Antiphonalia* and *Responsalia*[1] purely Roman, such as those referred to by the Council of Cloveshoo in 747, those which Chrodegang brought from Rome to Metz in 754, those which Pepin received from Pope Paul I about 760, or that possessed by the abbey of Corbey in 783, "signed" by Pope Hadrian, would be of infinite value. Unfortunately, we have them not.[2]

On the other hand, we have the work of the Frankish liturgist Amalarius.[3] Born in the second half of the eighth century, a disciple of Alcuin at Tours, much employed about the court of Charlemagne, who, about 809, made him Archbishop of Treves, Amalarius is the greatest liturgist of his time and country. His knowledge of Rome was derived from a first visit to that city in the time, as is believed, of Pope Leo III (795-816). He was certainly there again in 831, in the papacy of Gregory IV. He specially applied himself to the observation of the Roman liturgical customs, and it is to be particularly

[1] Let us mark the precise meaning of these terms. We know from Amalarius, *De ord. Antiph.* (prologue), that Romans of his time distinguished between (1) the *Cantatorium*, or book containing what was sung at Mass, which Amalarius calls the Gradual (*Gradale*); (2) the *Responsoriale*, or book of the responds of the Divine Office; and (3) the *Antiphonarius*, containing the antiphons of the same. Amalarius, faithful to Frankish custom, includes the two last under the title of *Antiphonarius:* but Paul I, when sending to Pepin the Roman office-books, distinguishes between the *Antiphonale* and the *Responsale* (Jaffé, 2351). We will follow the terminology of Amalarius.

[2] The antiphonary published under the name of S. Gregory by the Benedictine editors of his works is a MS. of the end of the ninth century (Bibliothèque Nationale, *Lat.* 17436) from the abbey of S. Cornelius at Compiègne. Its text is Romano-Frankish, adapted to some church of the North of France. It has been reprinted in *P.L.* LXXVIII. 726-850.

[3] See Dom Morin, "La question des deux Amalaires," *Revue Bened.* t. VIII. (1891), pp. 433-42; and "Amalaire, esquisse biographique," *ibid.* t. IX. (1892), pp. 337-51. See also the notice by E. Dümmler, in *M. G., Epistolae Carolini aevi*, t. III. (1899), pp. 240-1.

noted that he gives the replies of the Archdeacon Theodore to the questions he asked of him on that subject.

Between various copies of the antiphonary at Rome, as well as between the actual Roman custom of his time and these copies of various dates, Amalarius records many discrepancies. The reason of this it is easy to conjecture: the text, the music, and the order of the offices, he tells us, varied, even at Rome, between 750 and 830. When he was at Rome in 831 he asked of Pope Gregory IV a copy of the chant followed at Rome, and the Pope replied that there was not one that he could offer to the Emperor (Louis le Débonnaire), as he had given the only one which he had at his disposal to Wala, abbot of Corbey, when he had lately come on an embassy to Rome. Amalarius accordingly repaired to the monastery of Corbey, and consulted this antiphonary given by Gregory IV: a copy in four volumes, three for the nocturnal office and one for the diurnal, bearing at its head an inscription (already quoted) which attributed its codification to Pope Hadrian I. And he tells us that there were differences between this Corbey antiphonary and those of Metz: "*non solum in ordine, verum etiam in verbis et multitudine responsoriorum et antiphonarum quas nos non cantamus*". It is true that the antiphonary of Metz seemed to Amalarius to be on many points better ordered: "*in multis rationabilius statuta reperi nostra volumina quam essent illa*".[1] Amalarius was thus face to face with a critical problem, which he solved with an ingenuous eclecticism, framing a Roman antiphonary proper to Metz, destined for a long time to be the model edition of the ecclesiastical chant.[2] It is this quasi-critical edition on which he comments in his book *De ordine antiphonarii*, published between 827 and 833. We find in it—since from other quarters we are in possession of

[1] *De ord. Antiph.* (prologue). Again (*ibid.* 68), when speaking of those antiphons of which the text was taken from the Gospel for each day, Amalarius tells us that he asked "the masters of the Roman Church" whether they sang them, and they answered "no". He goes on to say:—

"Nostri tamen magistri dicunt se eas ab eis percepisse per primos magistros quos melodiam cantus Romani docuerunt infra terminos Francorum. Deus scit si isti fallant, aut si ipsi fefellisent qui gloriati sunt se eas percepisse a magistris Romanae Ecclesiae, aut Romani propter incuriam et neglegentiam eas amisissent."

"Yet our masters say they received them from them, through those first Masters who taught the melody of the Roman chant in the dominions of the Franks. God knows whether they are mistaken, or those were mistaken who boasted that they had received them from the masters of the Roman Church, or whether the Romans have since lost them through carelessness and neglect."

[2] See *Sangallen. Monach.* I. 11 (*P.L.* XCVII. 1378).

the responds and antiphons of which Amalarius speaks—most valuable guidance in reconstructing the office authentically Roman.[1]

We have, in addition, an excellent source of information in a MS. of late date, no doubt—it is of the twelfth century—but very authentically Roman, since it is an antiphonary which has been in use in the basilica of S. Peter at Rome.[2] In dealing with it, however, it will be necessary to take account of the reflex influence which the Carolingian liturgy had been exercising on that of Rome, the Romano-Frankish use having brought into a state of unity and order the liturgical traditions of Rome itself: a phenomenon not confined to the antiphonary, but equally noticeable in the case of the sacramentaries.

We take then as the basis of our description the information furnished by Amalarius, combined with that derived from this antiphonary of S. Peter's. And these we will supplement by what may be gathered from the most ancient and purely Roman *Ordines Romani*, such as the *Ordo* of S. Amandus,[3] that of Einsiedeln,[4] the *Ordo Primus* of Mabillon, in those parts which are original,[5] and lastly the *Ordo* which we have referred to as that of Gerbert's anonymous liturgist, the essential parts of which we shall give in full later on (p. 114).

[1] Walafrid Strab. *De eccl. rer. exord.* 25 (*P.L.* CXIV. 659):—

"Et quia Gallicana Ecclesia, viris non minus peritissimis instructa sacrorum officiorum instrumenta habebat non minima, ex eis aliqua Romanorum officiis immixta dicuntur, quae plerique et verbis et sono se a caeteris cantibus discernere posse fateantur. Sed privilegio Romanae Sedis observato, et congruentia rationabili dispositionum apud eam factarum persuadente, factum est ut in omnibus pene Latinorum Ecclesiis consuetudo et magisterium ejusden Sedis praevaleret, quia non est alia traditio aeque sequenda.'

"And since the Gallican Church, being furnished with men no less distinguished for their learning, possessed a version of the sacred offices of the highest consideration, they say that from them certain things were inserted in the offices of the Romans, which many persons declare they can distinguish from the rest of the chant, both by the words and the melody. But regard being had to the privilege of the Roman See, and through the influence of the reasonable agreement between themselves of the arrangements made by it, it has come to pass that in almost all the Latin Churches the custom and rule of that See prevails, seeing that there is no other tradition so worthy of being followed."

Walafrid was made abbot of Reichenau in 838, and died in 849.

[2] It was published by Tomasi, t. IV. pp. 1-170. It is referred to as "Archives of S. Peter's, B, 79". It is a small folio MS. of 196 leaves, and bears on the back the title "Graduale antiquum". The whole of the chant is noted. Fol. 197 is a fly-leaf on which a later hand has written out the responds and antiphons of the feast of the Transfiguration.

[3] Duchesne, *Origines*, pp. 439-63.

[4] De Rossi, *Inscript.* t. II. pp. 34-5.

[5] *P.L.* LXXVIII. 937-68.

Such are the principal sources whence we are to derive the materials for that reconstruction of the Roman Office of the time of Charlemagne which we are now about to attempt.

I.

We take first the ordinary office of the season; and, to begin with, the *nocturnal* course: it comprises vespers, the nocturns properly so called, and lauds.

The office of vespers begins with the versicle *Deus in adjutorium*, intoned by the officiant, followed by *Gloria Patri.*[1] Lauds begin in the same way, as do also the hours of the diurnal course.[2]

It may be conjectured that this introductory form is but a vestige. *Deus in adjutorium* is in fact the beginning of psalm LXIX, which formerly was recited here in its entirety. The same fate has happened here as in the case of the Introit of the Mass: nothing survives but the first verse of the psalm, and the doxology.[3]

The psalmody of vespers has invariably five psalms; and these five psalms are "antiphoned": "*Cotidianus usus noster tenet ut quinque psalmos cantemus in vespertinali synaxi . . . hos quinque psalmos antiphonatim cantare solemus*," says Amalarius.[4]

The version of the psalter in use at Rome is not the same as that north of the Alps. At Rome they use the psalter as corrected by S. Jerome in 383, at the request of Pope Damasus, which represents the version from the Septuagint, which was in use previous to the time of S. Jerome, merely

[1] As regards the *Sicut erat*, see *Concil. Vasense* (second Council of Vaison A.D. 529), canon 5: "Et quia non solum in Sede Apostolica, sed etiam per totam Orientem et totam Africam vel Italiam, propter hereticorum astutiam qui Dei Filium non semper cum Patre fuisse, sed a tempore coepisse blasphemant, in omnibus clausulis, post Gloriam, *Sicut erat in principio* dicatur, etiam et nos in universis eclesiis nostris hoc ita dicendum esse decrevimus" Mansi, t. VIII. p. 727. Maassen, *M. G., Concil. Aevi Merov.* (1893), p. 57.

[2] S. Benedict is acquainted with the *Deus in adjutorium*, but he only sets it down for prime, terce, sext, and none. *Regula*, 18 (ed. Wölfflin, 1895, p. 29).

[3] In support of this conjecture see Chrodegang, *Regula*, 14: "Nocturnis horis quum ad opus divinum de lecto surrexit clerus, primum signum sibi S. Crucis imprimat per invocationem S. Trinitatis. Deinde dicat versum *Domine labia mea aperies* . . . Deinde psalmum *Deus in adjutorium meum intende* totum cum *Gloria*. Et tunc provideat sibi corpoream necessitatem naturae, et sic ad oratorium festinet." Thus the psalm *Deus in adjutorium* was recited out of choir, in the dormitory. But in the case of Chrodegang, the observation only applies to the nocturnal office properly so-called. See the same thing in S. Dunstan, *De regimine Monachorum* (*P.L.* CXXXVII. 479).

[4] Amalar. *De eccl. off.* IV. 7; *De ord. Antiph.* 6.

re-touched by him: this is properly called *Psalterium Romanum.* A second edition was brought out by S. Jerome in 392, which represents a more severe correction of the version from the Septuagint, made at Bethlehem, with the aid of the Hexapla. It is said to have been adopted at Tours in the sixth century, and propagated thence in Gaul, whence its name of *Psalterium Gallicanum.*[1] This Gallican Psalter gradually supplanted the Roman Psalter in Italy, and finally at Rome. But in the eighth century Rome was still using only its old *Psalterium Romanum*, and it is from this that the words of the antiphons and responds, as we still have them, are borrowed, as well as the graduals and other features of the Mass which are taken from the psalter.

To "antiphon" a psalm is, in the eighth century as it was in the fourth, to have it sung by two choirs alternately, verse by verse: thus liturgists such as Amalarius[2] are able to give the same definition of *antiphona* as S. Isidore gave. But in the eighth century *antiphona* has also begun to mean something else.[3] It designates a short musical phrase composed to words not necessarily taken from the psalm they are sung with, or even from the psalter at all. The psalm is chanted on the tone of this musical phrase, which having been sung before

[1] Walafrid. Strab. *De rebus eccl.* 25: "Psalmos autem, quum secundum LXX interpretes Romani adhuc habeant, Galli et Germanorum aliqui secundum emendationem quam Hieronymus Pater de LXX editione composuit, psalterium cantant. Quam Gregorius Turonensis episcopus a patribus Romanis mutuatam, in Galliarum dicitur ecclesias transtulisse." Cf. the fragment by Berno of Reichenau, *P.L.* CXLII. 1174. One must not accept without question the assertion of Walafrid about Gregory of Tours. The history of the text of the Bible in the Merovingian epoch is "that of the penetration into France of the Spanish, Anglo-Saxon, and Irish versions". S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate* (Paris, 1893), p. 61. S. Jerome brought out a third version of the Psalter made from the Hebrew, which never gained a footing in liturgical use. [It is the second version, the *Psalterium Gallicanum*, which finds a place in the Vulgate.—A.B.].

[2] *De eccl. off.* IV. 7.

[3] *Antiphon*, in this new sense, appears for the first time in the sixth century, in the Rule of S. Benedict (*Regul.* 9), and at the same epoch in a sermon by S. Caesarius of Arles (Pseudo-August. *Sermo.* CCCIII. 3. *P.L.* XXXIX. 2325):—

"Quam multi rustici, et quam multae mulieres rusticanae cantica diabolica, amatoria et turpia, memoriter retinent et ore decantant. . . . Quanto celerius et melius quicunque rusticus vel quaecunque mulier rusticana, quanto utilius, poterat et symbolum discere, et orationem Dominicam, et aliquas antiphonas, et psalmos Lum vel XCum, et parare et tenere et frequentius dicere!"

"How many countrymen and countrywomen learn by heart and sing the devil's songs, lewd love songs. . . . How much more quickly and easily, and with how much more advantage might any countryman or countrywoman learn the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, and some antiphons, and the psalms *Miserere* and *Qui habitat*, and have them in readiness and keep them in mind, and repeat them ever and again!"

the psalm, is repeated at its close, and even at intervals in the course of the psalm. One sees here a confusion between the *psalmus responsorius* and the ancient antiphonal psalmody, the latter having adopted the refrain which was the characteristic feature of the *psalmus responsorius*, and given to this refrain, quite inappropriately, the name of "antiphon".[1] The custom of repeating the antiphon after every verse of the psalm, though early abandoned, has left many traces. Thus at the end of the ninth century, the canons of S. Martin's at Tours still repeated the antiphon after each verse of the psalm, at all events in the nocturns of the feast of S. Martin: "*unamquamque antiphonam per singulos psalmorum versus repetendo canebant*," as we read in the life of S. Odo of Cluny.[2] On the other hand, at the *beginning* of the same century, a clerk of Ratisbon complains that his fellows sing the office without devotion, getting through the psalms as fast as they can, and, in order to be off to their other concerns the sooner, leaving out the repetition of the antiphons, forgetting the very *raison d'être* of these repetitions, instituted of old by holy doctors for the consolation of souls:—

> Nesciunt quia sancti doctores et eruditores Ecclesiae instituerunt modulationem in antiphonarum vel responsoriorum repetitione honestissima, quatenus hac dulcedine animus ardentius accenderetur.[3]

At Rome, the custom of suppressing these repetitions early prevailed; but the written rubrics prescribing them were not suppressed. In the twelfth century, for solemn feasts, such as Christmas, we still find the direction that in the nocturns the antiphons are to be repeated, at the beginning of the psalm, in the course of the psalm at the points marked for the purpose, at the end of the psalm, after the *Gloria Patri*, and finally after the *Sicut erat*.[4] This rubric is taken from the antiphonary of

[1] See Dom Leclercq, article "Antienne," in *Dict. Arch. Chrêt.* t. I. p. 1292; F. A. Gevärt, *La mêlopée antique dans le chant de l'Eglise Latine* (Ghent, 1895), p. 83, quoted by Dom Leclercq.

[2] Joann. Monach. *Vita Odonis*, 10 (*P.L.* CXXXIII. 48: "Quia ejusdem officii antiphonae, uti omnibus patet, breves sunt, et ejus temporis noctes longiores, volentes officium ad lucem usque protendere, unamquamque antiphonam per singulos psalmorum versus repetendo canebant. Fiebat namque eis labor improbus." Odo's biographer testifies to the preservation of the ancient custom, at all events on the day of the festival of S. Martin; but the *raison d'être* of that custom is unknown to him, and the explanation which he gives is based on a mere misconception. Cf. Dom Leclercq, *art. cit.* p. 2309 *et seq.*

[3] *Benedictio Dei* (pref.) *P.L.* CXXIX. 1399.

[4] Tomasi, t. IV. p. 37: "In nocte Natalis Domini, ad omnes antiphonas vigiliae, chorus choro respondet, et sic omnes antiphonas cantamus ante psalmos, et infra psalmos ubi inveniuntur, et in fine psalmi, et post *Gloria Patri*, et post

S. Peter's already mentioned. One can see here how the Roman Office, in becoming the Office of the Frankish Churches, was shortened and impoverished.

After the five vesper psalms and their antiphons were finished, the officiant read a short lesson from Holy Scripture: "*Sequitur lectio brevis a pastore prolata*," says Amalarius.[1] The Rule of S. Benedict sets down a lesson at this point, but does not call it "short," and attaches to it a respond, hymn, and versicle.[2] The Roman Office, on the contrary, attaches to the short lesson nothing more than a versicle, such as *Vespertina oratio ascendat ad Te, Domine*, or *Dirigatur oratio mea sicut incensum.*[3]

As soon as the versicle had been recited,[4] the *Magnificat* was sung.

After *Magnificat*, the *Kyrie eleison* was said.[5] This is a vestige of one of the most ancient forms of public prayer, the

Sicut erat. Sed chorus cujus est versus infra psalmum qui est antiphona, incipit antiphonam, alter respondet: et qui incepit finit eam. Si duae antiphonae notantur sub uno psalmo, prima antiphona cantatur in principio et in fine psalmi, et post *Gloria* et post *Sicut erat;* secunda antiphona cantatur infra psalmum tantum, ubi invenitur." Cf. t. IV. p. 21, rubric for the *Benedictus* in lauds of the first Sunday in Advent: "Hoc die antiphonamus". Then follow four antiphons. [Note also the fact of there being sometimes two or more antiphons to one psalm or canticle. A survival of the psalm with antiphon repeated after every verse is found in the *Venite* as sung on Epiphany in the third nocturn; so also in the *Nunc Dimittis* on Candlemas at the distribution of candles. For other examples see the Ascension psalm, XLVI. and the Assumption psalm, XLIV. in *Variae Preces*, Solesmes, 1892, pp. 149, 192. The last has the antiphon after every *pair* of verses.—A. B.]

[1] *De eccl. off.* IV. 7: *De ord. Antiph.* 6.

[2] *Regul.* 17: "Vespertina autem synaxis quattuor psalmis cum antefanas terminetur, post quibus psalmis lectio recitanda est, inde responsorio, Ambrosiano, versu, canticum de Evangelio, letania, et oratione dominica, et fiant missae". S. Benedict, however, prescribes that, in the ferial nocturn of the nights of summer (when by reason of the shortness of the night the psalmody is not followed by the usual three lessons), "pro ipsis tribus lectionibus una de Veteri Testamento memorie dicatur, quam brevis responsorius subsequatur." *Regul.* 10.

[3] These versicles, adopted by the Roman Office, were those which were said at Metz: "nam in Romano antiphonario inveni versus *Exaltabo Te, Deus meus, Rex meus*, et *Magnus Dominus noster*," says Amalarius, *De ord. Antiph.* 6.

[4] Amalarius writes: "Audivi olim responsorios cantari apud quosdam post lectionem vespertinalem, qui continentur in aliquibus antiphonariis; sed apud nonnullos modo ac pene omnes, post lectionem sequitur conjunctim versus," *De eccl. off.* IV. 7. It may be, then, that S. Benedict here represents the ancient Roman custom, which must have fallen into disuse at Rome soon after his time. [This conjecture is supported by the fact that so many of the mediaeval breviaries, Dominican, Sarum, etc., have a respond after the short lesson at vespers. It is most unlikely that they borrowed it from the Benedictines. See the pretty anecdote about the respond at vespers in Thomas à Kempis, *Serm. ad Nov.* III Pars. Serm. VIII. 20.—A. B.]

[5] *De eccl. off.* IV. 7: "Post hunc hymnum per noctes dominicas aliquibus in locis dicitur *Kyrie eleison*, ut audivi Romae, et postea collecta". As to the collect, see *ibid.* 4: "Haec oratio in omni tempore subsequitur, i.e. Paschali, Pentecostes, dominicis diebus et festis". Amalarius seems to except ferias.

litany. S. Benedict gives the *Kyrie* its ancient name of *Litania*, or *Supplicatio litaniae*.[1] Amalarius describes the litany at length.[2] In its essential constitution this litany consists of a series of invocations or versicles, the order of which forms a canon of very ancient prescription. This canon, somewhat different from that of Amalarius, and more developed, we find in our present *Preces feriales*.[3]

The litany being ended, the officiant rises, pronounces the *Dominus Vobiscum*, and says the collect. Having recited it, he says *Benedicamus Domino*, and the choir respond *Deo gratias*. Thus the office of vespers is ended.[4]

Compline, of which it seems natural to speak in this place, was an exercise purely conventual, the prayer at bedtime of the monks, commending to God the sleep to which they betake themselves.[5]

Amalarius does not indicate any other place for the recitation of compline than the choir. But Gerbert's anonymous liturgist is more archaic, and gives us a picture of the monks meeting together in the refectory. There—

Colliguntur ad collectam : semper lectiones ad collectam leguntur, et ibi fructum quod eis Deus dederit manducantur et bibent. Postea, pulsato signo canuntur completorii ubi dormiunt in dormitorio.[6]

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[1] *Regul.* 9, 12, 13, etc. [2] *De eccl. off.* IV. 4.

[3] Dom Bäumer, t. II. pp. 429-41, has a special study of the *Preces feriales*. He quotes the most ancient liturgical MSS. which contain them : of the eighth to the ninth century—S. Gall, 20, and 349 ; Verona, 106. See also the thirteenth century MS., F. 18, in the archives of S. Peter's at Rome, fol. 199, analysed by A. Ebner, *Quellen und Forschungen* (Freiburg, 1896), p. 192.

[4] *De eccl. off.* IV. 4 : "Quam orationem praecedit salutatio, et subsequitur benedictio, quam et gratiarum actio sequitur". The litany was the primitive conclusion of vespers, as also of lauds, and of the little hours. So also with S. Benedict, who, however, adds a *Pater noster* to vespers and lauds. (*Regul.* 13) : "In ultimo ordine oratio Dominica omnibus audientibus dicatur a Priore, propter scandalorum spinas quae oriri solent". Durandus, *Rationale*, IV. 14, 17, notes a singular rubric of his time (the thirteenth century) : "In ecclesia Lateranensi nunquam dicitur oratio (i.e. the collect) sed in Missa ; et in omnibus horis loco orationis alta voce pronuntiatur oratio Dominica, quae in Novo Testamento prima oratio fuit. Nam et in primitiva Ecclesia sic fiebat". A Roman document of the time of Pope Alexander III (1159-81), the *Liber de ecclesia Lateranensi* of the deacon John, gives the same information (*P.L.* LXXVIII. 1385). Have we here another instance of S. Benedict witnessing to the archaic Roman custom ? Such is the opinion of Grancolas, p. 104.

[5] *De ord. Antiph.* 7 :—

"Quot latentes insidiae possunt ingruere super dormientes per ipsum diabolum, et per sua membra, et pericula vermium et bestiarum non valeo explanare."

"How many hidden snares may beset sleepers through the devil himself, and their own flesh, and the perils of serpents and fierce beasts, it is beyond my power to set forth."

[6] *Anonym. Gerb.* IV. 2.

At the head of compline Amalarius puts a short lesson, a feature not found in any other of the Hours at this point. This short lesson represents, in fact, the latter part of the reading which accompanied or followed the evening meal, "*ante istud officium conveniunt in unum fratres ad lectionem*," says Amalarius.[1] The *Pater* and *Confiteor* whereby the monk asks of God the pardon of his sins, are neither mentioned by Amalarius nor by our Roman documents.[2] The psalmody of compline is composed of four psalms—a number which does not occur in any other of the Canonical Hours—four psalms which are invariable, and the same that we still recite in this office.[3]

There is no short lesson, and, consequently, no respond:[4] but a versicle, and after that the canticle *Nunc Dimittis*, followed, without *Kyrie eleison*, by a collect: "*Tantummodo postulatio pro custodia deprecetur*".[5] And, adds Amalarius, after this *postulatio* comes entire silence, and sleep, which is death's image. Gerbert's anonymous writer says, with greater simplicity: "*Et tunc vadunt cum silentio pausare in lectula sua*".

The nocturnal office properly so called began in the middle of the night—*nocte media*—but at an hour not necessarily coinciding with midnight. The hour might be varied, and we know that on the days of the chief solemnities the office

[1] *De eccl. off.* IV. 8. [This gathering was called, as we have seen above, "*collecta*": and it is thence that our word "collation," signifying a meal, has been derived. It is noticeable that in the *secular* mediaeval breviaries this short lesson before compline is not found. The office begins with *Converte nos.*—A. B.]

[2] Grancolas, *Comment.* p. 110: "*Pater* ante completorium in recentioribus tantum monasticis constitutionibus reperitur: Pius enim IV breviario Romano illud inseruit, et secreto recitari jussit, ut doceret id officii partem non esse, et nunquam eo loco recitatum fuisse". [In the secular mediaeval breviaries, the *Confiteor* finds its place at compline, as at prime, in the *Preces* at the end of the office.—A. B.]

[3] Of psalm XXX. *In Te Domine*, only six verses are here recited out of twenty-five. [This piece of a psalm is omitted in the Benedictine Office, and may very possibly be a later addition to the psalmody of compline.—A. B.]

[4] *De ord. Antiph.* 7: "In isto officio . . . non est confabulatio lectionis". But S. Benedict on the contrary, who prescribes three psalms for compline—"*sine antefana dicendi sunt*"—places after them a hymn, a lesson, a versicle, the *Kyrie eleison*, and the "benediction," viz. *Benedicamus Domino* (*Regul.* 17).

[5] Grancolas, *Comment.* p. 119:—

"Oratio *Visita* in nullo Romano ordinario vel collectario, neque alicujus antiquitatis ordinario monastico invenitur, atque fortassis a Fratribus Minoribus Romano officio inserta fuit."

"The collect 'Visit, O Lord,' is not found in any Roman *ordinarium* or *collectarium*, nor in any monastic *ordinarium* of any antiquity: it was, it may be, adopted from the Franciscans and inserted in the Roman Office."

began earlier than on ordinary days.[1] At the sound of the bell—and the bell of the Roman vigils was in the eighth century quite historic[2]—clerks and monks assembled in the basilica. The office opened with the versicle *Domine labia mea aperies*, said by the officiant, which was followed by the *Gloria Patri*.[3] Immediately after this came the "invitatory psalm," *Venite exultemus*, already marked by S. Benedict as being sung "*cum antefana*".[4]

This admirable feature of the liturgy is not, as has been often said, "a vestige of the ancient mode of chanting with what we call antiphons":[5] it rather represents the ancient way of singing the *psalmi responsorii;* and therefore the Frankish author of the eighth century, known as *Magister Anonymus*, to whom we owe the most ancient commentary on the Rule of S. Benedict, has very justly given to the invitatory the title of "*Responsorium orationis*".[6] In it, a soloist first chants the refrain (which is not really an antiphon, but an *acrostichion*), and the choir repeat it all together. After this, it is not the choir that sing the psalm, but the soloist, while the choir does nothing but repeat, at each pause in the psalm, the refrain with which they began. Here we have the true primitive ecclesiastical psalmody.[7]

After the invitatory, the chanting of the psalms begins. The nocturn comprises twelve psalms, which are not "anti-

[1] *Anonym. Gerb.* IV. 3: see p. 115.

[2] *L.P.* t. I. p. 454:—

"Beatissimus Papa fecit super basilicam B. Petri Apostoli turrem . . . in qua tribus posuit campanis, qui clero et populum ad officium Dei invitarent."

"The most blessed Pope (Stephen II, 752-7) built upon the basilica of the Blessed Apostle Peter a tower, and placed therein three bells to call the clergy and the people to the service of God."

In the time of Stephen III (768-72), we are told, in the account of the conspiracy of Sergius and Christopher, how Sergius tried to gain admission into S. Peter's "nocte, qua hora campana insonuit" (*L.P.* t. I. p. 479).

[3] *De ord. Antiph.* 1: "In dominica nocte congrue, juxta consuetudinem Romanae Ecclesiae, a somno surgentes dicimus primo *Domine labia mea aperies*, et post hunc versum glorificamus S. Trinitatem". S. Benedict (Regul. 9) sets down here the *Domine labia mea*, but before the *Gloria* he inserts psalm 3, *Domine quid multiplicati sunt*, a psalm very appropriate to the awakening from slumber of the monks. It may be that the *Gloria* here is simply all that is left of psalm 3 and its doxology—the more so as Amalarius does not set down here the *Deus in adjutorium*.

[4] *Regul.* 9.

[5] [Contrast the *Venite* as used in the third nocturn on Epiphany, where we find just such a vestige.—A. B.]

[6] *Magistri Regula*, 44 (*P.L.* LXXXVIII. 1006).

[7] Here is a very curious detail: Amalarius at Constantinople heard the invitatory psalm sung by way of an introit: "Hunc psalmum audivi Constantinopoli in ecclesia S. Sophiae in principio missae celebrari" (*De ord. Antiph.* 21.

phoned," that is to say, not intersected by antiphons, like those at vespers, but sung continuously. After every four psalms a *Gloria Patri* is inserted.[1]

The distribution of the psalms over the successive nocturns of the week[2] was regulated by regarding the whole psalter as being divided into two parts: the first ends with psalm 108, and is appropriated to the nocturnal office: the second, beginning with psalm 109, *Dixit Dominus*, being assigned to the diurnal office.[3] At Rome, writes a liturgist of the fourteenth century, "the whole psalter is recited every week . . . the first part of the psalter being divided into seven nocturnal portions, eighteen psalms for Sunday, and twelve for each feria, some few psalms excepted, which are employed in the day hours".[4] This distribution, which still exists in the Roman breviary,[5] is the same that Amalarius was acquainted with.

The twelve psalms of the nocturn having been sung, they passed on to the lessons. The psalmody was only separated from the lessons by a versicle.[6] Nevertheless, in France, they placed between this versicle and the lesson a *Pater noster*, while at Rome they inserted a short absolution such as the

[1] Amalar. *De eccl. off.* IV. 9: "Sequuntur duodecim psalmi sine antiphona, cum tribus glorificationibus S. Trinitatis per ternas divisiones quatuor psalmorum".

[2] This distribution is a characteristic feature of the Roman Office. The psalmody at Rome is strictly regulated and not left to the choice of the choir, either as to what psalms are to be sung, or how many. There is some trace of a more ancient custom, analogous to that described by Cassian, in some copies of the psalter in which each psalm is accompanied by a prayer. Tomasi (t. II.) has published a text of this type. It is what is called "*Psalterium cum orationibus interjectis*," see Bäumer, t. I. p. 360. On the freedom in the sixth century as regards psalmody see S. Benedict, *Regul.* 18:—

"Hoc praecipue commonentes, ut si cui forte haec distributio psalmorum displicuerit, ordinet, si melius aliter judicaverit: dum omnimodis adtendatur ut omni ebdomada psalterium ex integro numero CL psalmorum psallatur, et dominico die semper a caput reprendatur ad vigilias."

"Above all things giving this admonition, that if to any one this distribution of the psalms is not pleasing, let him ordain otherwise, as he shall judge to be better: this point only being in any case attended to, that in every week the whole number of the 150 psalms of the psalter be sung through, beginning again on Sunday from the commencement, at the vigils."

[The curious thing is that S. Benedict's *cursus* does not begin the psalter at the Sunday nocturns but at Monday prime. On the difference between the Roman and Benedictine weekly *cursus* of the psalter I have written in "Pax, No. 15" (March, 1908). It is my belief that the Roman Church materially modified her distribution of the psalter in the seventh century, adopting the arrangement which is still in force, greatly influenced by what S. Benedict had ordained, but yet exercising a large degree of freedom.—A. B.]

[3] [That is to say, including *vespers*, which, I believe, S. Benedict was the first to place among the day offices: it had previously been regarded as belonging to the nocturnal course.—A.B.]

[4] Radulf. *De Canon. Observant.* 10. [5] *i.e.* down to A.D. 1911: see ch. VII.

[6] Amalar. *De ord. Antiph.* I. So also in S. Benedict, *Regul.* 11.

following: "*Intercedente beato Principe Apostolorum Petro, salvet et custodiat nos Dominus.*" [1] The lessons are read in the pulpit: the clerk or brother who goes there to read them, first asks of the officiant his blessing, saying "*Jube domne benedicere,*" to which the officiant replies by pronouncing a short benediction, such as those which we still use,[2] and the choir respond *Amen.* Then begins the reading, the lessons being taken from the books of Holy Scripture occurrent in their due order.

The distribution of Holy Scripture over the various seasons of the year was a thing regulated by traditional custom,[3] a custom depending on the liturgical system of the Christian year—Advent, Lent, Paschal-tide, and so forth.

Nor must we be surprised to find in this distribution an agreement between the Roman customs and the monastic. Isaiah was read in Advent. From Christmas to Sexagesima they read Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel and the Minor Prophets. At Sexagesima they began the Pentateuch, Joshua, and Judges, and went on until Holy Week. From Easter to Pentecost, the Acts, the Catholic epistles, and the Apocalypse. During the summer, Kings and Chronicles. From the beginning of autumn until Advent, the Sapiential books, with Job, Tobit, Esther, Judith, Esdras and the Maccabees.[4]

The custom of reading the Holy Scriptures after the nocturnal psalmody only dated, at Rome, from the seventh century, if we are to believe Theodemar, abbot of Monte Cassino (A.D. 787).[5]

[1] Amalar. *De ord. Antiph.* (prologue); *De eccl. off.* III. 6: "Nam quod Galli, finitis psalmis nocturnalibus, solemus cantare orationem Dominicam, Romana Ecclesia praetermittit".

[2] Bäumer, t. I. p. 385: he quotes from Smaragd. (ninth century) *Regul.* 9 (*P.L.* CII. 831), and the Rituale Dunelmense.

[3] See what Pope Gregory II, in 716, lays down on this subject for the bishops of Bavaria. He enjoins "sacrificandi et ministrandi sive etiam psallendi ex figura et traditione S. Apostolicae et Romanae Sedis Ecclesiae ordine". He desires that the clergy "cetera diurnarum atque nocturnarum horarum officia, sive etiam lectionem sacrorum librorum Novi atque Veteris Testamenti ordinabilia praedicamenta studeant observare secundum traditum Apostolicae Sedis antiquitatis ordinem." Jaffé, 2153 (*P.L.* LXXXIX. 531).

[4] One may compare the distribution given by Gerbert's anonymous author (*Ordo canonis decantandi in ecclesia S. Petri*) (see p. 114), and that which Amalarius received from the Archdeacon Theodore (*De ord. Antiph.* prologue).

[5] Theodemar, *Epist. ad Carolum Regem, P.L.* XCV. 1584: "Necdum eo tempore in Ecclesia Romana, sicut nunc leguntur, sacras Scripturas legi mos fuisse; sed post aliquod tempus hoc institutum esse, sive a beato Papa Gregorio, sive ut ab aliis adfirmatur ab Honorio. Qua de re majores nostri instituerunt ut hic in sacro nostro coenobio, quod juxta sanctum illius corpus institutum est, tres cottidianis diebus aestivo in tempore ex Veteri Testamento lectiones in codice legantur, ne a S. Romana Ecclesia discrepare viderentur". Dümmler (M. G.), *Epist. Carol. Aevi,* t. II. (1895), p. 510.

The lesson went on for so long as was deemed suitable, and ended when the officiant made a sign to the reader to stop. The reader always ended with the formula *Tu autem*, to which the choir responded *Deo gratias*.[1] The three lessons of the nocturn were each followed by a respond.

It would be an error to identify the Roman respond with the *psalmus responsorius* of the ancient Church. Of the latter we have just come across an exact instance in the invitatory, and nothing is less like the invitatory than a respond. The respond is in reality a sort of gradual, and one knows that the gradual is at Rome the most ancient form of the ecclesiastical musical chant.[2] A change of meaning has taken place here comparable to that already noted in the case of the word "antiphon": the gradual of the Mass, which was not a *psalmus responsorius*, came to be called *responsorium*. Amalarius gives it no other title.[3] Later on, this use of the term was lost; people spoke of the *gradual* of the Mass, the *respond* of the Office, and any original identity between the two was no longer remarked.[4] It is possible that the *responsorium*, both in the Mass and in the Office, was a creation peculiar to the Latin Church, and that it is in this sense that we are to understand the saying of a contemporary of S. Gregory, S. Isidore of Seville: "*Responsoria ab Italis longo ante tempore sunt reperta*".[5]

The respond is composed of three elements: the "*responsorium*" properly so-called, the verse, and the doxology. The responds were executed in the following manner, which is cer-

[1] Martene, *De antiq. eccl. discipl.* p. 33:—

"In Turonensi S. Martini basilica, qui choro praeerat alta voce clamabat *Fac finem*, statimque lector parebat: Vidi in Majori Monasterio [Marmoutier] vetus lectionarium in cujus lectionum fine legitur *Fac finem*."

"In the basilica of S. Martin at Tours he who ruled the choir cried out with a loud voice 'Make an end' (*Fac finem*), and the reader forthwith obeyed. I saw at Marmoutier an old lectionary in which these words were written at the end of each lesson."

[2] Duchesne, *Origines*, p. 107.

[3] Amalar. *De eccl. off.* III. 11.

[4] [*Responsorium* was originally an abbreviation, meaning the same as *psalmus responsorius*. How did such a title come to be applied to the gradual of the Mass and the respond after the lesson? and to which of them first? The latter question I feel quite unable to answer: but in regard to the former we may notice that in the original way of singing the responds the soloist and choir have the same parts to sustain as in the invitatory, which *is* a *psalmus responsorius*, and the same is true of the ancient mode of singing the gradual. This may have occasioned their both being called *responsorium*. But there is a most striking contrast between the graduals and the responds, both as regards their matter and their construction; and the type of chant employed—in each case markedly characteristic—is as different as can be. We therefore must not suppose that, because the gradual and the respond were both called *responsorium*, they are developments of what was originally one and the same thing.—A. B.]

[5] S. Isid. *De eccl. off.* III. 11.

tainly the ancient method, and, as Amalarius tells us, the one authorized at Rome. First, the precentor sang the text of the respond, the "*responsorium*," as a solo, and the choir repeated the same all together; then the precentor sang the verse, after which the choir once more repeated the whole "*responsorium*" as before. At Rome, "modern Popes," says Amalarius, had attached to every respond a *Gloria Patri*—in no case followed by *Sicut erat*—while in the Rule of S. Benedict (ch. 9) there is a *Gloria* only at the last respond in each nocturn. The doxology having been sung by the precentor, the choir finally repeated once more the "responsorium".[1]

In passing from Rome into France, the Roman responsoral suffered more than one mutilation. Amalarius tells us that, in his part of the world, for the sake of brevity, they did not repeat the entire "*responsorium*," but resumed it "*per latera*," i.e. in the middle, or for the last third of it only. Hence it became necessary to select verses which would fit on to this resumption—a first cause of rehandling the responsoral.[2] Then, at Rome, a good many responds had, not one verse, but two, or three, or perhaps more: and these verses all formed part of the respond, and were not in all cases, as Amalarius supposes, mere alternatives, to be used in succession when the same respond was sung time after time in the same week. The beautiful respond *Aspiciens a longe*, on Advent Sunday, has survived in this form, with three verses: and if the Romans assured Amalarius that the reason of this was "*propter honorem magnae festivitatis*, it is very probable that other festivals would be equally honoured. Thus we see reason to believe that the responsoral, as it has come down to us, has been much abbreviated and impoverished, in comparison of what it must once have been.

The matter of the responds had relation to the part of Holy Scripture which was in course of reading. There were responds from the Prophets; responds taken from Genesis:

[1] *De ord. Antiph.* prologue: "Altero ordine cantamus nostros responsorios quam Romani. Illi a capite incipiunt responsorium finito versu: nos versum finitum informamus responsorium per latera ejus." *Id.* 1: "Priscis temporibus non cantabatur *Gloria* post versum, sed repetebatur responsorius . . . A modernis autem Apostolicis additus est hymnus [*Gloria Patri*] post versum." Walafrid Strab. *De rebus eccl.* 25: "Hunc itaque hymnum [*Gloria Patri*] nonnulli omnibus pene psalmis, et interdum incisionibus psalmorum coaptant, responsoriis vero paucioribus, ut illi qui statuta patris Benedicti in horis sequuntur canonicis. Romani eum in psalmis rarius, in responsoriis crebrius iterant." The Gallican custom has in this matter supplanted the Roman.

[2] See the letter from Helisachar to Nidibrius, published in (M. G.) *Epist. Carolini Aevi*, t. III. (1899), pp. 307-09.

responsoria Regum, *responsoria de Sapientia*, *de Job*, *de Tobia*, *de Judith*, *de Hester*, *de Maccabaeis*. The *responsoria de psalmis* went with the lessons from the New Testament. The collection of responds taken from the same book of Scripture was called *Historia*.[1]

With the third respond, following the third lesson, the nocturn came to an end. Twelve psalms, three lessons, and three responds constituted the nocturn both on Sundays and ferias. But, while this formed the whole of the *ferial* nocturnal office, on Sundays there were added six more psalms, six lessons, and six responds, divided into two nocturns. The three psalms of the former of these two nocturns had antiphons as at vespers; in the other the psalms were *alleluiaticized:* i.e. their antiphons consisted of nothing more than an Alleluya.[2] At each of these two nocturns, as at the first, the psalmody ended with a versicle, on which followed the lessons. These were taken from the holy Fathers: "*Tractatus SS. Hieronymi*, *Ambrosii*, *caeterorumque Patrum*, *prout ordo poscit*, *leguntur*," says Gerbert's anonymous writer. This custom was certainly older than the time of Pope S. Gregory, who mentions it expressly; S. Benedict, also, prescribes it in his Rule.[3]

A copy of the Holy Bible sufficed for the lessons of the first nocturn, but for those of the other two a whole library would not have been too much. Accordingly we find Pope Zachary (741-52) bestowing on the basilica of S. Peter all the manuscripts he possessed, to serve for use at the nocturnal service on Sundays and festivals: "Hic in ecclesia Principis Apostolorum omnes codices domui suae proprios qui in circulo anni leguntur ad matutinos, armariorum ope ordinavit".[4] But in this same eighth century, the century of liturgical codification, the task of publishing collections of sermons and homilies was under-

[1] Amalar. *De ord. Antiph.* 53 *et seq.* [It is worthy of remark, that the matter of the ancient responds is not, for the most part, expressed in the exact words of Holy Scripture, though freely reminiscent of them: see, for instance, those in the nocturns of Christmas Day. This is one feature which constitutes a sharp line of division between them and the graduals. The ancient responds deserve to be made the subject of special study.—A.B.]

[2] *De eccl. off.* IV. 9: "Sequentes tres psalmi cum antiphona . . . tres novissimi psalmi cum Alleluya . . . Sedetur ad lectiones post psalmos, praecedit versus lectionem".

[3] S. Grey, *Epist.* XII. 24; "Dic [Marianiano episcopo] ut commenta psalmorum legi ad vigilias faciat". S. Bened. *Regul.* 9: "Codices autem legantur in vigiliis tam Veteris Testamenti quam Novi Divinae auctoritatis, sed et expositiones earum, quae a nominatis doctorum orthodoxis catholicis Patribus factae sunt". See the lectionary from Fleury, seventh to eighth century, Orleans, MS. 154 (formerly 131).

[4] *L.P.* t. I. p. 432. Cf. t. II. pp. 132 and 195.

taken.[1] Hence those *homiliaria* and *sermonaria*, numerous enough in our libraries, as everyone knows: "*Omeliae sive tractatus BB. Ambrosii, Augustini, Hieronymi, Fulgentii, Leonis, Maximi, Gregorii, et aliorum catholicorum et venerabilium Patrum, legendae per totius anni circulum*" is the title we read at the beginning of one of these, selected at hazard; it is MS. no. 29 of the Montpellier Library, of ninth century date. Some of these collections have the name of the compiler. The name of Alanus, abbot of Farfa in the second half of the eighth century (*d.* 770) is attached to a homiliary compiled by him and of which a MS. survives of the end of the same century.[2] Similar collections were made by Bede (*d.* 735), and also by Alcuin (*d.* 804).[3] The name of Paul the Deacon, the most erudite and famous of the monks of Monte Cassino, and one of the best-read men in Charlemagne's literary workshop, ensured the success of another of these homiliaries, published at the request of Charlemagne, and with a preface by him. Charlemagne had given Paul the Deacon a commission "*ut studiose catholicorum Patrum dicta percurrens, veluti e latissimis eorum pratis certos quosque flosculos legeret, et in unum quaque essent utilia quasi sertum aptaret.*"[4] This "homiliary of Charlemagne" quickly succeeded in supplanting others, and from it a considerable part of the present homiliary of the Roman Church has been derived.

[1] The MS. *Vatican. Lat.* 3835-6 [eighth century] is a homiliary in two volumes, written out by a scribe who signs himself "Agimundus pbr," the copy having been made for a church at Rome, the "basilica Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi" (i.e. of the Holy Apostles). See the description of it in H. Ehrensberger, *Libri liturgici Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* (Freiburg, 1897), pp. 148-9.

[2] Munich, 4564. Bäumer, t. I. p. 410. See the text of this homiliary in *P.L.* LXXXIX. 1198. Cf. A. Ratti, "*L' omeliario detto di Carlo Magus e l' omeliario di Alano di Farfa*," in the *Rendiconti del R. Instituto Lombardo*, 1900, quoted by Bäumer, loc. cit.

[3] Dom Morin, "*L'homiliaire d'Alcuin retrouvé*" (it is the MS. Lat. 14302, of the twelfth century, in the Bibl. Nat.) *Revue Bénédictine*, 1892, pp. 491-7.

[4] The emperor goes on to say: "Qui [Paul the Deacon] nostrae Celsitudini devote parere desiderans, tractatus atque sermones diversorum catholicorum Patrum perlegens, et optima quaeque decerpens, in duobus voluminibus per totius anni circulum congruentes cuique festivitati distincte et absque vitiis nobis obtulit lectiones. Quarum omnium textum nostra sagacitate perpendentes, nostra eadem volumina auctoritate constabilimus, vestraeque religioni in Christi ecclesiis tradimus ad legendum." Pertz (M. G.) *Leges*, t. I. p. 45. The homiliary is printed in *P.L.* XCV. 1159 *et seq.*; but this text printed by Migne contains later additions (of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries) blended with the original: and one cannot therefore, in the opinion of Dom Morin, regard it as the actual homiliary of Paul the Deacon. For a restoration of the original text, see F. Wiegand, *Das Homiliarium Karls des Grossen auf seine ursprüngliche Gestalt hin-untersucht* (Leipzig, 1897), and Dom Morin, "Les sources non identifiées de l'hom. de P.D.," *Revue Bénédictine*, 1898, pp. 400-3.

The ninth lesson on Sundays was followed by its respond, the ninth.[1] At Rome in the time of Amalarius, there was as yet no idea either of substituting for this respond, or of attaching to it, the *Te Deum*. The Roman liturgy of that time reserved the *Te Deum* for the nocturns of the festivals of sainted popes only.[2] It comes to this, that this canticle or "hymn" did not appertain to the Roman liturgical tradition.[3]

There being no *Te Deum*, the Sunday nocturnal office at Rome ended with the ninth respond. Before beginning lauds, they waited until the sun rose. The interval was longer or shorter according to the time of year; the clerks and monks made use of it as an opportunity for taking breath awhile: "*Nocturnis finitis; si lux non statim supervenerit faciunt modicum intervallum, propter necessitates fratrum, et iterum ingrediuntur ad matutinis laudibus complendas*," says Gerbert's anonymous author in his lay-brother's Latin. At Rome so much importance was attached to beginning lauds as soon as ever the sun rose, that if it happened that at that moment the nocturns were not yet finished, they were to be cut short in order to begin lauds at once.[4]

Like vespers, lauds began with the versicle *Deus in adjutorium* followed by *Gloria Patri;* and the psalmody, as at vespers, consisted of five psalms. But of these the third and fifth were fixed: for the former the two psalms *Deus Deus meus* (LXII.) and *Deus misereatur* (LXVI.), and for the latter the three, *Laudate Dominum de caelis* (CXLVIII.), *Cantate Domino*

[1] *De eccl. off.* IV. 9: "Conjungunt nos novem lectiones conversationi novem ordinum angelorum. Conjungunt nos novem responsorii gaudiis eorundem novem ordinum angelorum." Bäumer, t. I. p. 412, notes that for the third nocturn on Sundays the ancient lectionaries have homilies on the Gospel for the day, but also "expositiones epistolarum vel apocalypsis," that is to say, homilies on the *Epistle* for the day. These last kept their place until the time of Innocent III.

[2] *De ord. Antiph.* prologue: "Interrogavi si canerent per dominicas noctes *Te Deum laudamus?* Responsum est: Tantum in natalitiis Pontificum *Te Deum laudamus* canimus." S. Benedict, however, prescribes it for the nocturnal Sunday office: "Post quartum autem responsorium incipiat abbas ymnum *Te Deum laudamus*". *Regul.* 11.

[3] In Gaul the *Te Deum* was believed to be the work of SS. Ambrose and Augustine jointly, but nobody now dreams of attributing this composite production to either of them. Equally abandoned is the assignment of its authorship to Nicetius, Bishop of Treves (537-566); the *Te Deum* is certainly anterior to the sixth century. The most plausible attribution is that proposed by Dom Morin, and substantiated by A. E. Burn, *Niceta of Remesiana, his Life and Works* (Cambridge, 1905), pp. xcii-cxxv. There is no reasonable doubt that the author of the *Te Deum* is Nicetas.

[4] *De ord. Antiph.* 4: "S. Romana Ecclesia hoc speciatim nobis insinuat per suam consuetudinem. Ipsa enim quotocunque ordine vel numero viderit maturam procedere, ut audivi, dimittit nocturnale officium, et incipit matutinale."

(CXLIX.), and *Laudate Dominum in sanctis* (CL.). For the first, on Sundays *Dominus regnavit* (XCII.), on ferias, *Miserere* (L.). For the second, a psalm varying for each day of the week. And for the fourth, on Sundays *Benedicite*, and on ferias one of the six other canticles from the Old Testament.[1] The psalms, like those of vespers, were furnished with antiphons, and the psalmody was followed by a short lesson, and a versicle. Then came the *Benedictus*, with its antiphon.[2] After this, *Kyrie eleison* and *Pater noster:* Amalarius says nothing of the recitation here of the collect. With lauds the nocturnal *cursus* came to an end, and the monks could now go and take a little repose.

For the daytime was provided the diurnal *cursus*, comprising the three offices of terce, sext, and none. Each of these had the same programme: the *Deus in adjutorium*, *Gloria Patri*, and three psalms—or rather three sections of Psalm CXVIII., comprising sixteen verses each, and sung without antiphons.[3] After the psalmody, a short lesson, versicle, *Kyrie eleison*, and *Pater noster*.[4] The office for these three little day-hours is thus quite independent of the nocturnal course, and it was invariable.

Like compline, prime was an exercise in its essence conventual. It was the prayer of the monks on rising, just as compline was their prayer at bedtime. "*Ista Prima ibi cantatur*

[1] *De eccl. off.* IV. 10 and 12. Cf. S. Benedict, *Regul.* 13: "Nam ceteris diebus [privatis] canticum unumquemque die suo ex prophetis, sicut psallit Ecclesia Romana, dicantur". S. Benedict sets down for the lauds on Sundays, after *Miserere* (L.) and *Confitemini* (CXVII.), *Deus Deus meus* (LXII.)—without *Deus miseratur* (LXVI.), this having been said before *Miserere*. He adds: "Inde benedictiones (i.e. *Benedicite*) et laudes (pss. CXLVIII.-CL.), lectio de Apocalypsin una ex corde (VII. 12) et responsorium, Ambrosianum (hymn), versum, canticum de Evangelio (*Benedictus*), letania (*Kyrie eleison*), et completum est". No mention of any collect. Cf. Dom Morin, "L'uniformité dans les Laudes du Dimanche, du IV^e^ au VII^e^ Siecle," *Revue Bénédictine*, 1889, pp. 301-4. [To lauds belongs the singular distinction of never having (through all the changes of sixteen centuries) suffered any material variation.—A. B.]

[2] *De ord. Antiph.* 2: "Post hos psalmos canitur aliqua lectio. . . . Post quam lectionem dicitur versus [*Dominus regnavit* . . .] Post hoc tempus sequitur ut hymnus dicatur [Benedictus]". For the ferial lauds Amalarius marks the versicle *Repleti sumus mane*, and he adds: "In Romano vero antiphonario inveni plures" (*De ord. Antiph.* 5).

[3] Ardon. *Vita S. Benedicti Anianensis*, 52 (*P.L.* CIII. 379): "Officia [diurna] juxta Romanum psalmo CXVIII. persolventur". [S. Benedict's arrangement of the psalmody for the little Hours is widely different from the Roman. Among other differences, his sections of Ps. CXVIII. are of only eight verses each, following the original Hebrew acrostical plan of the psalm.—A. B.]

[4] Amalar. *De eccl. off.* IV. 3 and 4. S. Benedict, *Regul.* 17, mentions, after the three psalms, only a lesson, a versicle and *Kyrie eleison*: "ternos psalmos lectione et versu, *Kyrie eleison*, et missas". No trace of anything by way of a collect, beyond the *Pater noster*.

ubi dormiunt" to quote once more Gerbert's anonymous writer. And as a confirmation of the three day-hours having also been originally purely conventual, we may remark that, like them, prime comprised three psalms: for prime these were *Deus in nomine Tuo* (LIII.) and the two first sections of Psalm CXVIII. *Beati Immaculati*.[1] Like them, prime began with *Deus in adjutorium* and *Gloria Patri:* like them, it ended with a versicle, *Kyrie eleison*, and *Pater noster*. But at prime there was no short lesson.[2] After *Pater noster*, Amalarius places the recitation of the Apostles' creed.[3] To this he joins the singing of the Miserere,[4] and between this and the creed come versicles expressing penitence and asking for pardon, such as "*Vivet anima mea et laudabit Te, et judicia tua adjuvabunt me*" (Ps. CXVIII., last two verses). There is no mention of the *Confiteor*.[5]

Up to this point we have an office—the office of prime—which is distinct from that which is to follow; at least it was so in its origin, as the Rule of S. Chrodegang witnesses, which, while it makes the recitation of prime take place in the church, places the service which follows it in the chapter-house. This exercise begins with the reading of the Martyrology, followed by the versicle *Pretiosa in conspectu Domini* and the prayer *Sancta Maria et omnes Sancti*, or some other of the same kind. But the reading of the Martyrology was not the *raison d'être*

[1] At some later date there was added to this psalmody at prime the five psalms XXI.-XXV. which Pius V distributed over the week. I do not know what was the origin of this addition. [Besides these five psalms, the psalmody of prime eventually received the accretion of Ps. CXVII. and the *Quicunque vult*. And it must be remembered that the office of prime was invariable, Sundays and weekdays.—A. B.]

[2] *De ord. Antiph.* 6: "Psalmus *Deus in nomine Tuo* . . . praeponitur CXVIII°." *De eccl. off.* IV. 2: "Deinde sequitur versus *Exsurge Domine adjuva nos*. . . . Postea inchoamus implorare misericordiam Domini per *Kyrie eleison* et *Christe eleison*, et iterum *Kyrie eleison*. . . . Ac deinde sequitur oratio Dominica." *De ord. Antiph.* 6: "In prima non recitatur lectio".

[3] *De eccl. off.* IV. 2: "Post orationem Dominicam sequitur nostra credulitas quam SS. Apostoli constituerunt."

[4] *ibid.* "Sequitur psalmus quem David cantavit postquam paenitendo conversus est a malo adulterii et homicidii".

[5] But there is, in the Rule of S. Chrodegang (ch. XIX.): "Convenientes cleri ad Primam canendam in ecclesia, completo officio ipso, ante Ps. quinquagesimum donent confessiones suas vicissim, dicentes: *Confiteor Domino et tibi, frater, quod peccavi in cogitatione, et locutione, et opere: propterea, precor, ora pro me.* Et ille respondet: *Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus, et indulgeat tibi omnia peccata tua: liberet te ab omni malo, conservet te in omni bono, et perducat te ad vitam aeternam.* Et ille dicit: *Amen.* Supplici corde certatim pro se orantes, hoc sibi faciunt. Hoc expleto conveniunt ad capitulum." Cf. S. Dunstan, *De Regimine Monach.* I (*P.L.* CXXXVII. 482): "Post hoc [at the breaking-up of Chapter] quicunque se reum alicujus culpae agnoscit, veniam humiliter postulans, petit indulgentiam."

of this meeting in Chapter, which took place thus, at the beginning of the day, for the purpose of assigning to each member of the community his task, and invoking the blessing of God on the work undertaken by His servants. Therefore it is that we find here the threefold repetition of the *Deus in adjutorium*,[1] with *Gloria Patri*, *Kyrie*, and *Pater noster*, followed by the versicles *Respice in servos Tuos*, etc.,[2] and the collect *Dirigere et sanctificare*.[3] The basilican monks at Rome did not dismiss the Chapter without having read some portion of the Rule of S. Benedict, as we are told by Gerbert's anonymous writer.[4] Amalarius merely speaks of "a reading"; but he regarded this as a custom which had originated in the monasteries.[5]

Here we finish our description of the ordinary office of the season. Is there any need to remark once more, as we conclude it, how clearly there was even then to be distinguished in it the juxtaposition of different cycles of offices—the ancient ecclesiastical cycle of the night-vigils (vespers,[6] nocturns, lauds); the supererogatory cycle of the day-hours (terce, sext, none); and the altogether monastic cycle of conventual exercises (prime and compline)?

II.

The cycle of the solemnities of the Christian seasons began with Advent. The custom of observing with special solemnity the four Sundays before the great anniversary of Christmas

[1] Gerbert's anonymous author, v. 4 (see below, p. 118) tells us that it is with the same formula of prayer that the brother who enters on his week of service in the kitchen begins his task on the Sunday morning. "*Statim dicit qui ingreditur Deus in adjutorium meum intende*, et ista oratione ter cum omnibus repetitur". He adds that the same is done at S. Peter's every Saturday at terce by the *Mansionarii* who are beginning their week's service.

[2] S. Chrodegang, *Regul.* 18: "*Respice in servos Tuos* pariter usque in finem psalmi, subjungentes *Gloria*. Deinde Prior dicit: *Dirigere*, etc." Cf. S. Dunstan, *De Regimine Monach.* I (*P.L.*, CXXXVII. 482).

[3] *De eccl. off.* IV. 2.

[4] *Anonym.* IV. 1 (see p. 115): "Ibidem pro invicem capitulo dicto orant. Statim ibi redeunt, et Prior cum ipsis, et ibi legunt Regulam S. Benedicti".

[5] *De eccl. off.* IV. 2: "Mos inolevit ut per monasteria Deo devota legatur lectio in capitulo".

[6] By vespers must be understood "first vespers". For every festival begins with vespers on the evening before, and by rights ought to end *before* vespers on the day itself, so that there are no "second vespers". See Theodulph, *Capitula ad presbyteros* (*P.L.*, CV. 198): "Conveniendum est Sabbato die cum luminaribus cuilibet Christiano ad ecclesiam, conveniendum est ad vigilias sive ad matutinum officium. Concurrendum est etiam cum oblationibus ad Missarum solemnia." And this is all the public worship there is on Sunday at the end of the eighth century (797). Hence the formula taken from the 15th canon of the council of Laodicæa: "A vespera ad vesperam dies Dominica servetur".

was of Gallican origin, but ancient, and had been introduced at Rome before the time of S. Gregory, though after that of S. Leo.[1] These four Sundays had each its own "station" though this was not the case with the fourth Sunday before the twelfth century.[2] The first Sunday had its station at S. Mary's the greater; the second at Holy Cross in Jerusalem; the third, the most solemn of all, the Sunday *Gaudete*, at S. Peter's. On the Sundays of Advent the psalmody was that of the ordinary Sunday office: the first three lessons were from the Scripture occurrent (Isaiah); the next five were expositions taken from the Fathers; the ninth was a homily on the Gospel of the Station Mass. It was the responds that gave to the office its special character; so much is this the case that the whole office took its name from the opening words of the first respond: to designate the office of the first Sunday in Advent, the term used was "the office *Aspiciens a longe*". Amalarius has no other name for it.[3]

I much regret the fact that I am no musician, so that I am unable to appreciate the *chant* of these responds, and can only judge of them as we judge of the choruses in the Greek tragedies. But even thus viewed, how much beauty there is in the responds of the office of the season, which, by the humble process of piecing together scattered texts, succeed in uttering a language so striking and dramatic that they seem to revive within the sanctuaries of the basilicas the tones of the tragic stage of ancient Greece! Take, for example, this admirable respond for the first Sunday in Advent, the *Aspiciens a longe*, where, assigning to Isaiah a part which recalls a celebrated scene in the *Persae* of Aeschylus, the liturgy causes the precentor to address to the choir these enigmatic words:—

Aspiciens a longe, ecce video Dei potentiam venientem, et nebulam totam terram tegentem. Ite obviam ei et dicite: Nuntia nobis si tu es ipse qui regnaturus es in populo Isräel.

And the whole choir, as if perceiving also that which the prophet sees, repeats:—

Aspiciens a longe, ecce video Dei potentiam venientem, et nebulam totam terram tegentem.

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[1] Dom Cabrol, article "Advent," in *Dict. d'Archéologie Chrêt.* t. I. pp. 3223-6.
[2] Tomasi, t. IV. p. 30.
[3] *De ord. Antiph.* 8. [Similar designations were given to other turning-points of the Christian seasons: the Sunday after the Octave of the Epiphany was known as *Domine ne in iria*, and the first Sunday after Trinity as *Deus omnium*, from the opening words of the responds.—A. B.]

THE PRECENTOR.

℣ Quique terrigenae et filii hominum, simul in unum, dives et pauper.

CHOIR.

Ite obviam et dicite.

THE PRECENTOR.

℣ Qui regis Isräel, intende : qui deducis velut ovem Joseph : qui sedes super Cherubim !

CHOIR.

Nuntia nobis si tu es ipse qui regnaturus es in populo Isräel.

But what need thus to scan the horizon in doubt? He who comes is known, and no triumph can be fair enough to welcome His advent :—

THE PRECENTOR.

℣ Tollite portas, principes, vestras, et elevamini, portae aeternales, et introibit.

CHOIR.

Qui regnaturus es in populo Isräel.

THE PRECENTOR.

Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto.

And the whole of the opening text is repeated in chorus :—

Aspiciens a longe . . . populo Isräel.[1]

Amalarius comments upon this respond of Advent with just admiration ;[2] for it is one of the most perfect models of this sort of composition. No doubt there are many other responds, the inspiration of which is far from being so grand or so brilliant. Moreover, by the end of the eighth century, it would seem that the taste for these compositions began to be lost ; people wished them shorter ; they were pared down and grudgingly rendered. The *Aspiciens a longe*, as we have just quoted it, and as it stands indeed in our office to-day, has three verses ; but at Rome, in the time of Amalarius, already only

[1] "Beholding from afar, lo, I see the might of God approaching, and a cloud covering the whole earth—Go ye forth to meet Him, and say—Tell us if Thou art He that shall rule the people of Israel. ℣ All ye inhabiters of the world and children of men, rich and poor, one with another—Go ye forth to meet Him and say : ℣ Hear, O Thou Shepherd of Israel, Thou that leadest Joseph like a sheep, Thou that sittest upon the cherubims—Tell us, etc. ℣ Lift up your gates, O ye princes, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and He shall come in—That shall rule the people of Israel."

[2] *De ord. Antiph.* 8.

two of them were sung;[1] and it had become the general rule, even at Rome, not to assign more than one verse to a respond. So the *Aspiciens a longe* has survived, with its three verses, as a specimen of a type already out of date in the time of Amalarius. Such as they are, however, cut down and mutilated, the Roman responds have lasted down to our own times, and, in spite of much opposition have kept their place even in the private recitation of the office. But our practice of saying over and over again a certain number of the most commonplace of them indisposes us to appreciate the beauty of these antique creations, some of which—as I hope to show—are in very truth masterpieces of liturgical literature.

The four Sundays of Advent were looked upon at Rome, in the eighth century, and even in the twelfth, as so many stages in a season of joy, where all was gladness at the nearness of the coming of the Redeemer. The third of them, the Sunday *Gaudete*, with its station at S. Peter's, was the culminating point of this joyous going up to Bethlehem. The six days before December the 24th garnished their ferial psalms at vespers and lauds with antiphons which already reflected the sparkle of the Saviour's star—*Rorate caeli . . . Haurietis aquas in gaudio . . . Constantes estote, videbitis . . . Consurge, consurge, induere . . . Elevare, elevare, consurge, Hierusalem!*—while the antiphon to *Magnificat* at vespers in this last week of expectation was, as early as the eighth century, taken from that series which we call "the great O's"—*O Sapientia . . . O Adonai . . . O Radix Jessé . . . O Clavis . . . O Oriens . . . O Rex gentium . . . O Virgo virginum!*—with their lofty and primitive symbolism.[2]

The station of Christmas was at S. Mary the greater, no doubt ever since the reconstruction of the basilica in the fifth century with the above title during the pontificate of Sixtus III (432-40). At Christmas we meet for the first time, with an office which is neither dominical nor ferial: an office of three nocturns, comprising nine psalms and nine lessons.[3] The presence of the Pope added all the distinc-

[1] *De ord. Antiph.* prologue: "Interrogavi Archidiaconum Theodorum . . . quot versus cantaret Romana Ecclesia in responsorio *Aspiciens a longe* . . . Respondit: Duos. Sciscitatus sum cur duos cantasset, extra solitum morem, in illo responsorio. Respondit: Propter honorem magnae festivitatis. Reperi postea non solum in isto, i.e. *Aspiciens a longe*, tres versus, ut in nostro antiphonario continetur, sed etiam in aliis multis in Romano antiphonario aut duos aut tres scriptos."

[2] *De ord. Antiph.* 13.

[3] *Ordo* of Montpellier, fol. 87:—

"In vigilia Natalis Domini incipi- "On the eve of our Lord's Birthday,

tion of a stately ceremonial to that of the psalms with their oft-repeated antiphons.[1] It was a glorious vigil, which deserved to be what it became, the liturgical model, of which all other festivals, except indeed Easter and Pentecost, were the copies.[2]

Epiphany, more than the rest, was a copy of Christmas. The station on that day was at S. Peter's: and the office was, like that of Christmas, of nine psalms and nine lessons, all the psalms being antiphoned.[3]

The Roman Lent, as early as the fourth century, comprised six weeks: but the custom of appointing a station for each day during these six weeks, as also for the three Sundays *in Septuagesima*, *in Sexagesima*, *in Quinquagesima*, cannot be traced further back than about the seventh century.[4] Septuagesima was a Sunday of joy, a last look back upon Bethlehem, on which antiphons and responds still re-echoed the Alleluyas of Christmas:[5] the rubric prescribing this lasted on at Rome

ente nocte mox ingrediuntur ad vigilias, deinde expletis psalmis VIIII. cum lectionibus vel responsuriis seu et matutinis cum antiphonis ad ipsum diem pertinentibus, expectantes Domnum Apostolicum modice requiescunt. Adpropinquante vero gallorum cantu, ipso Domno Apostolico cum episcopis vel reliquis sacerdotibus cum cereis vel multis luminibus procedente, surgentes praeparant se qualiter ad Missas ingrediantur, et mox ut gallus cantaverit Domnus Apostolicus cum omni ordine sacerdotum ad Missas ingreditur."

at the beginning of the night they go into the church for the vigil: and having finished the nine psalms, with the lessons and responds, and also lauds, with the antiphons that belong to that day, they rest awhile, waiting for the coming of the Apostolic Prelate. But when the time of cock-crowing draws near, and the Apostolic Prelate comes in with the bishops and the rest of the clergy, with many lighted candles, they rise up and prepare themselves to begin the Mass. And as soon as the cock has crowed, the Apostolic Prelate, attended by the clergy of every rank, begins the Mass."

[1] See note 4, p. 72. Amalarius (*De ord. Antiph.* 15) notes the fact that in the Roman antiphonary he found, for the night of Christmas, two nocturnal offices: the first was sung by the Pope at S. Mary's the greater, the second by the clergy at S. Peter's. Each of these offices had its own responds and antiphons. Amalarius also tells us that this office of S. Peter's came, in France, to be assigned to the Octave of Christmas, i.e. to what is now the festival of the Circumcision. But the *Ordo* of Montpellier is only acquainted with one and the same office, for Christmas and its Octave: "Post nativitatem vero Domini usque in Octabas, praeter Sanctorum festivitatibus, psalmi, antiphonae, responsuria, seu lectiones in nocte et in die de ipso Domini Natali sunt canendi. In Octabas autem Domini, quod est Kal. Januar., ordinem quo Domini Natale in omnibus observant".

[2] *De ord. Antiph.* 15: "Sicut per novenarium numerum, qui celebratur in Nativitate Domini, gratias agimus de Dei descensione . . . ita per eumdem numerum gratias agimus in festivitatibus Sanctorum."

[3] The omission on this day of the invitatory was a Frankish custom—"Nostra regio in praesenti officio solita est . . . omittere . . . invitatorium." *De ord. Antiph.* 21.

[4] Duchesne, *Origines*, pp. 234-36.

[5] *De ord. Antiph.* 30.

until the epoch of Alexander II (1061-1073).[1] But after Septuagesima the Church entered on her period of sadness: no more Alleluyas.[2] And very soon it was a time of fasting as well.[3] Then, starting with Passion Sunday, came the time when there was not even a *Gloria Patri* to the responds.

The office of those nine Sundays before Easter was the ordinary dominical one of eighteen psalms and nine lessons: the office for the stations (on week days) of Lent was the ferial one of twelve psalms and three lessons. It was the responds that gave to these offices their distinctive character: for, besides the *responsoria de Abraham*, *de Joseph*, etc., corresponding to the Scripture occurrent, as far as Holy Week, the Sundays and stations of this period before Easter had a series of penitential responds—*Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile. . . . Emendemus in melius . . . Paradisi portas . . .*—all of them responds which have kept their place in the Roman breviary, but inferior to most of those of Advent. On the other hand, the responds of Passiontide form a group of the highest order of merit. We have still in the breviary nearly all of these admirable compositions, of which Amalarius says expressly that they are the work of the masters of the Roman Church.[4]

In proximo est tribulatio mea, Domine, et non est qui adjuvet, ut fodiant manus meas et pedes meos. Libera me de ore leonis, ut narrem nomen Tuum fratribus meis—Deus, Deus meus, respice in me: quare me dereliquisti longe a salute mea?—Libera me de ore leonis—In proximo est tribulatio mea, et non est qui adjuvet.[5]

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[1] *Micrologus*, p. 47.

[2] Amalar. *Epist. ad Hilvinum* (ed. Dümmler, p. 248): "Jejunamus de *Alleluia* VIII. ebdomadas".

[3] *Ordo* of Montpellier, fol. 96:—

"Graeci a Sexagesima de carne levant jejunium; monachi vero et Romani devoti vel boni Christiani a Quinquagesima; rustici autem et reliquus vulgus a Quadragesima. Primum autem jejunium quarta et sexta feria post Quinquagesimam, i.e. una ebdomada ante Quadragesima, apud eos publice agitur."

"The Greeks begin to fast from flesh-meat at Sexagesima; our monks and devout Roman people or earnest Christians at Quinquagesima; country folk and the rest of the common people at Quadragesima. However, the first fasts publicly observed by them are on the Wednesday and Friday after Quinquagesima, i.e. in the week before Quadragesima [first Sunday in Lent]."

[4] *De ord. Antiph.* 43: "In duobus ebdomadibus ante Pascha Domini undecunque potuit colligere compositor antiphonarii sermones convenientes Passioni Domini, super eos fecit sonum cantus habilem ad id tempus, i.e. lugubrem, juxta numerum necessariorum responsoriorum et antiphonarum. . . . Compositi sunt a Magistris S. Romanae Ecclesiae, in quibus [responsoriis] compunctio traditionis Ejus frequentatur, et dolor crucifixionis Ejus stimulat corda fidelium."

[5] "Trouble is hard at hand, O Lord, and there is none to help me. They pierced my Hands and my Feet. Save me from the lion's mouth, that I may

Thus they express the complaint of Christ in the garden of Gethsemane, forsaken and betrayed—*compunctionem traditionis Ejus*—to use the words of Amalarius.

Dixerunt impii non recte cogitantes : Circumveniamus justum, quoniam contrarius est operibus nostris. Promittit se scientiam Dei habere ; Filium Dei se nominat ; et gloriatur Patrem se habere Deum. Videamus si sermones illius veri sunt ; et si est verus Filius Dei, liberet illum de manibus nostris ! Morte turpissima condemnemus Eum !—Haec cogitaverunt, et erraverunt : excaecavit enim illos malitia eorum, et nescierunt sacramenta Dei.—Morte turpissima condemnemus Eum ! [1]

There we have the evil mind of the crowd still undecided, all their sarcasm and their pitiless spirit. Then in another respond, the cry of Christ :—

Adtende Domine ad me, et audi voces adversariorum meorum. Numquid redditur pro bono malum ? Quia foderunt foveam animae meae.—Homo pacis meae, in quo sperabam, qui edebat panes meos, ampliavit in me supplantationem.—Numquid redditur pro bono malum ?—Adtende, Domine, etc.[2]

So we enter on the Holy Week. The office of the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday was the ordinary ferial one : twelve psalms, three lessons. And then came the "*triduum*," the last three ferias of the Holy Week, and the office assumes the amplitude which characterizes the most solemn anniversaries.

The office of these three days is minutely described in the purest and most ancient *Ordines Romani*, such as that of Einsiedeln, and of S. Amand. It was undoubtedly a purely Roman creation.[3] The office commenced at midnight, and,

declare Thy name unto my brethren.—My God, my God, look upon me : why hast thou forsaken me, and art so far from my health ? Save me from the lion's mouth—Trouble is hard at hand, etc." (Ps. XXI.).

[1] "The ungodly said, reasoning with themselves, but not aright : Let us lie in wait for the righteous, because he is clean contrary to our doings. He professeth to have the knowledge of God, and he calleth himself the Child of the Lord. He maketh his boast that God is his Father. Let us see if his words be true. If he be the son of God, He will deliver him out of our hands. Let us condemn him with a shameful death.—Such things they did imagine, and were deceived, for their own wickedness hath blinded them : and as for the mysteries of God, they knew them not.—Let us condemn him with a shameful death" (Wisdom II.).

[2] "Give ear to me, O Lord, and hear Thou the voice of mine enemies. Shall evil be rendered for good ? For they have digged a pit for my soul.—Yea, even mine own familiar friend, whom I trusted, who did also eat of my bread, hath laid great wait for me.—Shall evil be rendered for good ? Give ear, etc." (Ps. XL.).

[3] [It is remarkable that S. Benedict provided no offices of his own for the Triduum. He adopted the Roman Offices unchanged—strikingly divergent as is their structure from that of his own offices. It seems to give ground for believing that the office of the Triduum—mattins and lauds, at all events—already existed at Rome in the sixth century in much the same state as now.—A. B.]

contrary to the general custom, neither *Deus in adjutorium* nor invitatory were said, but the psalmody began at once, without any preliminaries. There were three nocturns, each having three psalms with antiphons. After the third psalm came the versicle and after that the reader stood up to begin the lessons: but he neither asked for a blessing on beginning them, nor said the *Tu autem* at their conclusion.[1] On all three days, the lessons in the first nocturn were from the Lamentations of Jeremiah, in the second from S. Augustine, in the third from the Epistles of S. Paul. Neither psalms nor responds had the *Gloria Patri.* After the three nocturns came lauds, with antiphons to the psalms and the *Benedictus*, but, at the conclusion, no *Kyrie eleison* as usual, but simply the verse *Christus factus est obediens.* The congregation then retired in silence. At the night office of Maundy Thursday, celebrated at S. John Lateran, the basilica was lit up as usual: but on Good Friday, when the office was sung at Holy Cross in Jerusalem, all the lights were extinguished one after another, so that at the end of *Benedictus* only one remained alight, which was then hid behind the altar until the next day—"*reservetur absconsa usque in Sabbato Sancto*"—in token that the Light of the world was extinguished, Christ being dead, and that darkness was upon the face of the whole earth. The night office of Easter Eve was celebrated in the dark, only one lamp being suffered to be lit for the reader—"*tantum una lampada accendatur propter legendum*".[2]

Indeed, the Roman Church had not even any need of this dramatic symbolism to impress the minds of the faithful. The whole drama of the Passion of the Saviour was set forth in the responds of her office:—

Eram quasi agnus innocens, ductus sum ad immolandum et nesciebam.—Consilium fecerunt inimici mei adversum me, dicentes: Venite, mittamus lignum in panem ejus, et conteramus eum de terra viventium.—Omnes inimici mei adversum me cogitabant mala mihi, verbum iniquum mandaverunt adversum me.—Venite, mittamus lignum in panem ejus, et conteramus eum de terra viventium.—Eram quasi agnus, etc.[3]

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[1] [Possibly, in all these omissions, we ought merely to see an evidence of the extreme antiquity of these offices: however appropriate they may appear to the particular occasion of their use.—A. B.]

[2] The extinction of the candles, one after another, at the nocturns of all three days, Thursday, Friday and Saturday, is a Frankish custom, as Amalarius attests (*De ord. Antiph.* 43). This has eventually ousted the old Roman custom witnessed to by the Archdeacon Theodore in the ninth century (*ibid.*).

[3] "I was as a lamb without guilt; brought to the slaughter and knowing it not; mine enemies devised devices against me, saying: Come, let us make him

Then, after this complaint of Christ, the emotion of His Mother, calling for help to the Apostles who have fled :—

Vadis propitiatus ad immolandum pro omnibus. Non tibi occurrit Petrus, qui dicebat mori tecum? Reliquit te Thomas, qui aiebat: Omnes cum eo moriamur? Et ne unus ex illis? Sed tu solus duceris, qui castam me confortasti, filius et Deus meus!—Promittentes tecum in carcerem et in mortem ire, relicto te fugerunt!—Et ne unus ex illis?—Vadiis propitiatus, etc.[1]

All the horror of the conscience of mankind at the sight of such iniquity :—

Barrabas latro dimittitur, et innocens Christus occiditur. Nam et Judas, armidoctor sceleris, qui per pacem didicit facere bellum, osculando tradidit Dominum Jesum Christum.—Verax datur fallacibus, pium flagellat impius.—Osculando tradidit, etc.—Barrabas latro dimittitur, etc.[2]

The shudder of Nature herself, and of the very fabric which enshrined the law of God :—

Tenebrae factae sunt, etc.
Et velum templi scissum est, etc.

And after this storm of grief, and treachery, and blood, and after this quaking of earth and heaven, the tumult dies away in the relief of tears :—

Recessit Pastor noster, etc.
Ecce quomodo moritur Justus, etc.
Domine, post passionem Tuam et post discipulorum fugam, Petrus plorabat, dicens: Latro Te confessus est, et ego Te negavi. Mulieres Te praedicaverunt, et ego renui. Putas, jam vocabis me discipulum Tuum? Aut iterum constitues me piscatorem mundi? Sed repoenitentem suscipe me, Domine, et miserere mei.—Ego dixi in excessu meo: omnis homo mendax.—Putas, jam vocabis, etc.? Domine, post passionem, etc.[3]

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taste of the tree, let us cut him off from the land of the living.—All mine enemies whisper together against me: even against me do they imagine this evil.—Come, let us make him taste of the tree, etc." (Jer. xi. 19; Ps. xl.).

[1] "Thou goest, our Propitiation, to be slain for all! And doth not Peter come to Thee, he who said he would die with Thee? Hath Thomas left Thee, who said, Let us die with Him? What, not one of them? But Thou art led away to death alone, Thou who hast preserved me in chastity, My Son and My God! Though they promised that they would go with Thee into prison and to death, they have forsaken Thee and fled!—What, not one of them?—Thou goest, etc." The readings *propitiator* for *propitiatus*, and *conservasti* for *confortasti*, are also found.

[2] "The robber Barabbas is set free, and Christ, the Innocent one, is slain! For Judas, that very Master of the arms of wickedness, who knew how by means of peace itself to make war, hath betrayed the Lord Jesus with a kiss. To deceivers is given over the True: unholy hands scourge the Holy One. He hath betrayed the Lord Jesus with a kiss."

[3] "O Lord, after Thy passion and the flight of Thy disciples, Peter lamented, saying: The thief confessed Thee, and I denied Thee. Women acknowledged Thee, and I rejected Thee. Thinkest Thou that Thou canst yet call me Thy disciple? Canst Thou once again send me forth a fisher of men? Yet raise Thou me up again, O Lord, and have mercy upon me, forasmuch as I repent.—I said in my haste: All men are liars.—Thinkest Thou that Thou canst yet call me Thy disciple? . . ."

Thus the night office of these three days was made throughout one great representation of the sorrowful mystery of the passion, death, and burial of the Saviour, and of the unutterable grief of penitent humanity. And it ended, in the early morning of Easter Eve, amid the darkness and weeping of lauds: "*Sedentes ad monumentum lamentabantur flentes Dominum*" (Antiphon to *Benedictus*).

During the rest of the daytime, on Easter Eve, no further ceremony called for the attendance of the faithful in the basilica. But about three o'clock in the afternoon the Paschal vigil would begin. The station was at S. John Lateran. There was no benediction of the new fire or of the Paschal candle, customs which came from France to Rome after the eighth century; but (and this was a matter of ancient usage at Rome) that long service of lessons and *responsoria*[1] which we still find in the liturgical office of Easter Eve, and which constitute the best representation we possess of the observance originally common to every vigil. Two sub-deacons, carrying torches, placed themselves before the altar at the foot of the pontifical throne, and gave light to the reader. The lessons accordingly began, without title or benediction: "*In principio creavit Deus caelum et terram*," etc. Each lesson was read first in Greek, then in Latin, and was followed by *Oremus*, *Flectamus genua*, and the collect. After every three lessons came a *responsorium*, sung first in Greek, then in Latin. What else is this office but a nocturn shorn of its psalmody?—in other words, a vigil on the pattern of those of the fourth century, but without psalms. To this vigil office was added the baptism of the catechumens, which was celebrated in the baptistery of the Lateran, while in the basilica the people and the *Scola cantorum* sang the litanies, repeating each suffrage as many as fifteen times. Then, when at last they arrived at the end of this prolonged litany, the master of the *Scola* said "*Accendite*," and the basilica was lit up for the return in procession of the pope and his attendants, bringing in the newly-baptized. And then the Mass, the first Mass of Easter, began with the strains of the *Gloria in excelsis*, and the Alleluya. It must then have been long past midnight.[2]

[1] [These *responsoria* have no resemblance to the responds at nocturns, nor to the graduals at Mass. They are, in fact, as they are styled in the missal, *Tractus*, consisting simply of a series of verses, set to a simple and striking melody (the same in all) the cheerful tones of which remind us that with this vigil Easter begins, and the last wail of Passion-tide has died away.—A. B.]

[2] This Eastertide service is described at length and commented upon by Amalarius, *De eccl. off.* I. 18-31.

One might have thought that this liturgy of the Paschal night, being nothing else than the ancient vigil, would have taken the place of the ordinary canonical nocturn office. But nothing of the kind. After the vigil, the daily nocturnal office kept its place. "Even in the night of the Resurrection," says the *Ordo* of S. Amand, "we rise after cock-crow, we go into the church, and after a prayer the kiss of peace is given in silence." Then begins the usual nocturnal office, the *Deus in adjutorium*, the invitatory with its Alleluyas, three psalms with Alleluyas, the versicle;[1] three lessons, and three responds. Then lauds, with Alleluyas. The *Benedictus* having been sung, the *Kyrie eleison* was not said, but the antiphon *Haec dies*, followed by the collect.[2] This canonical nocturn office was, we see, one of three psalms, three lessons, and three responds. The reason for this brevity was that, beginning *post gallorum cantum*, and not *media nocte*, it would have been impossible to give it the amplitude of the office of Christmas, for instance, with its nine psalms, nine lessons, and nine responds.[3] All through the octave of Easter they repeated this office of one nocturn, following the rule that the office of the octave must correspond with that of the feast.

The octave of Easter or, as it was then called, the seven *dies baptismales*, had an exceptional office. We have seen that the *Ordines Romani*, which furnish us with such minute particulars as to the liturgy of the last three days of Holy Week and as to that of Easter, not only do not mention the three hours of terce, sext, and none, but say nothing of vespers either: no public vespers were contemplated for Maundy Thursday or Good Friday, no vespers of any kind for Easter eve.[4] On the

[1] The *Ordo* of S. Amand inserts here a prayer—"Et orationem dat presbyter"—no doubt the *Pater noster*.

[2] Amalar. *De eccl. off.* IV. 23: "Habemus scriptum in Romano ordine, ut non dicatur *Kyrie eleison* sive *Christe eleison* ad ullum cursum in memoratis diebus, sed sine retractione cantemus *Haec dies*. . . . Collectam solam solet sacerdos dicere in fine officii."

[3] Grancolas, p. 332: "Unus tantum nocturnus dicitur, quia ferme dies erat quando incipiebatur officium noctis, eratque hora Laudum".

[4] The *Ordines* purely Roman, such as those of Einsiedeln and of S. Amand, make no allusion to any diurnal course during the Triduum. The *Ordo* of the Vallicellan library writes: "Prima nec tertia, nec nona, a S. Pascha usque in octavas non cantatur". On the other hand the *Ordo Romanus Primus* of Mabillon, which, as regards the Paschal liturgy, represents the Roman use as practised elsewhere than at Rome, mentions the diurnal office: "Ipsa vero die [Maundy Thursday] omne diurnale officium insimul canunt"; on Good Friday—"Vesperam dicit unusquisque privatim"; on Easter eve, nothing. The antiphonary of S. Peter's gives the following rubric: "Primam, tertiam, sextam, et nonam usque ad Pascha secreto dicimus; similiter vesperam Parasceuen" (Tomasi, t. IV. p.

other hand, these *Ordines* prescribe vespers for each of the *dies baptismales*. It would be a matter for surprise, if these Paschal vespers were an office similar to vespers such as we have met with in the common and proper of the season: but in fact they have nothing in common with the vespers of the ordinary canonical office beyond the name.

On the evening of Easter Day, for example, when the station was at S. Peter's, the clergy came in for vespers in procession, preceded by the cross and the incense, and took up their places in the presbytery, round the high altar. The office began with *Kyrie eleison;* then was sung the *Dixit Dominus*, the *Confitebor*, and the *Beatus vir* (pss. CIX.-CXI.), three psalms with Alleluyas. Between the second and the third of these psalms was inserted a group of versicles—*Dominus regnavit: decore induit—Parata sedes Tua ex tunc—Elevaverunt flumina Domine*—all being allusions to the resurrection and triumph of Christ. After the psalmody there was a prolonged chant of Alleluya, executed "*cum melodias simul cum infantibus*," says the *Ordo* of S. Amand. Then the *Magnificat*, with its antiphon, and by way of conclusion a collect. Here is an extraordinary programme for vespers! But this is not the whole of it. The procession, in fact, took up its march again, and the clergy, leaving the presbytery, i.e. the apse of the basilica, went and ranged themselves in front of the "triumphal arch" between the nave and the presbytery, before the great cross which was suspended in the centre of the arch. There they sang the fourth vesper psalm, *Laudate pueri* (CXII.) with Alleluyas, the *Magnificat* over again, with an antiphon, and a second collect. The procession then went on to the baptismal font where was chanted the fifth vesper psalm, *In exitu Israel* (CXIII.) with Alleluyas, *Magnificat* with an antiphon, for the third time, and a third collect. Such are the rubrics given by Amalarius.[1] The *Ordo* of S. Amand, which represents a still more ancient state of the liturgy, directs a long verse in Greek

98). [When vespers were eventually provided for the Triduum, they were curiously entangled in the end of Mass. This is still the case on Easter eve, and was formerly so on the other two days as well.—A. B.]

[1] *De ord. Antiph.* 52: "De glorioso officio quod fit circa vespertinales terminos in Paschali ebdomada in Romana Ecclesia". For a more detailed description see Dom G. Morin, "Les vêpres Pascales dans l'ancienne liturgie Romaine," *Revue Bénédictine*, 1889, pp. 150-7. [See Wordsworth and Procter's *Sarum Breviary*, vol. I. cols. dcccxvij-dcccxxij, for the form of this beautiful service used in England until the Reformation. It was retained in the Gallican breviaries down to the time of their suppression in the nineteenth century; and still, I hope and believe, survives at Lyons.—A. B.]

to be sung at the font. Taken as a whole, these Paschal vespers are exceedingly different from those of the canonical office: it is true they contain five psalms, and these are the same which the canonical office reserves for vespers; but the three stations, the thrice-repeated *Magnificat*, the versicles in Latin and Greek, are features of a Roman liturgy which is not merely more ancient, but belongs to a time when the ordinary canonical vespers were as yet unknown at S. Peter's.

On Low Sunday, *Dominica in albis depositis*, the exceptional office of Easter Day and the *dies baptismales* gave place to the ordinary office for Sundays and ferias;[1] the rest of the Paschal season had nothing proper to it beyond the antiphons and responds. The festival of the Ascension of our Lord was celebrated forty days after Easter; it was, like Christmas and Epiphany, a feast of nine psalms and nine lessons, with its own proper antiphons and responds.[2]

But, fifty days after Easter, Pentecost brought back once more the office of three psalms and three lessons. For Pentecost, *Pascha Pentecosten*, as the antiphonary of S. Peter's calls it, had like Easter its liturgical vigil of six lessons read twice over, in Greek and Latin, with their *responsoria* and the collects which accompany them; and this vigil, like that of Easter, was followed by the baptism of catechumens—"*In vigilia Pentecostes sicut in Sabbato Sancto ita agendum est*"—says the *Ordo* of S. Amand. The canonical office would therefore by rights be similar to that of Easter, and this shortened office would be repeated through the octave. It would seem, however, that for some time they hesitated thus to assimilate the office of Pentecost to that of Easter: while the antiphonary of S. Peter's testifies that the office of Pentecost and its octave is of three psalms and three lessons, Amalarius was assured at Rome that this office had nine responds, that is, that it was the ordinary Dominical office.[3]

We have now come to the end of the cycle of the feasts of the Christian year (for the observance of the festival of the

[1] *De ord. Antiph.* prologue: "Interrogavi quotus ordo responsoriorum celebraretur in Dominica nocte quam solemus nominare Octavas Paschae. Responsum est: Novenarius, in ea cantamus de auctoritate". On the responds *De auctoritate* see *ibid.* 52.

[2] *ibid.* 56.

[3] *ibid.* prologue: "Similiter interrogavi de officio Pentecostes. Responsum est: Novem cantamus, ut in caeteris Dominicis in noctibus". Cf. *ibid.* 57. It is another instance of Gallican usage being adopted by Rome, after the time of Amalarius. [S. Benedict has three nocturns both at Easter and at Pentecost. —A. B.]

Holy Trinity is long posterior to the eighth century), and we see that the canonical Roman office ranges itself under four liturgical types :—

(1) The ferial office of twelve psalms and three lessons;
(2) The Sunday office of eighteen psalms and nine lessons;
(3) The festal office of nine psalms and nine lessons;
(4) The Paschal office of three psalms and three lessons.

Moreover—and it will be of some service to anticipate here a question which will come under our notice by and by—these four liturgical types are again met with, formally set forth in a decree of Gregory VII (1073-85) :—

(1) Omnibus diebus . . . XII psalmos et III lectiones recitamus ;
(2) In Dominicis diebus XVIII psalmos et IX lectiones celebramus ;
(3) Si festivitas est . . . IX lectiones dicimus ;
(4) In die Resurrectionis usque in Sabbatam in Albis, et in die Pentecostes usque in Sabbatam ejusdem III psalmos et III lectiones legimus.

I have reproduced the exact terms of the decree,[1] and we may conclude from it that the Roman Office of the eighth century remained at Rome in the eleventh intact, as regards its general structure ;[2] and that those liturgists are mistaken who have looked upon this decree as a *reform* on the part of Gregory VII, making a fresh regulation as to the office, when in reality he was but confirming the custom of the eighth century. We may further conclude—to confirm what I advanced before on the subject of the settlement of the canonical Roman Office during the seventh and eighth centuries—that these four liturgical types constitute a system, in regard to the Divine Office, which is sensibly different from that formulated in the *Liber Diurnus* at the beginning of the seventh century, which may be summed up as follows, so far as the ferial office is concerned :—

(1) A Pascha ad Aequinoctium III lectiones ;
(2) Ab Aequinoctio ad Pascha IV lectiones.

In other words, the settlement of the canonical office of Rome for the Christian seasons in the form which we have just described dates from the seventh to the eighth century.

III.

About A.D. 750 the office of the saints, hitherto kept separate from the daily office of the basilicas within the city, and

[1] Friedberg, t. I. p. 1416.

[2] Note that, in the time of Gregory VII, the office of Pentecost and its octave has become assimilated to that of Easter and its octave. It is just one of those accidental variations which do not affect the general structure of the offices.

in this respect faithful to its tradition as an office belonging to cemeteries, at last found a place in the basilican office. That place was at first a humble one, compared with the great daily office. Far from displacing that office, whether Dominical or ferial, the office of the saints was an appendage to it. Eventually, however, it blended itself with the great daily office,[1] though at Rome the primitive superposition of the office of the saints on the ferial office left durable traces. Amalarius quotes from the antiphonary of Corbey—"*ex Romano Antiphonario qui ad nos pervenit*"—that is to say from the antiphonary of Pope Hadrian I, some valuable information to the following effect:—

In praeclarissimis festivitatibus sanctorum consuetudo est sanctae matris nostrae Romanae Ecclesiae duo officia peragere in nocte, quorum officia praetitulantur *De vigiliis*. Primum eorum, quod canitur in initio noctis, sine Alleluia peragitur. Alterum vero, quod habet initium circa medium noctis et finitur in die, habet in tertia nocturna in suis antiphonis Alleluia.[2]

And this indication is made the clearer by what he says about the feast of S. Peter:—

Ex Romano antiphonario posui duas vigilias in nostro antiphonario. Primam solet Apostolicus facere in initio noctis, quae fit sine invitatorio, quoniam ea hora non invitatur populus ad vigilias . . . [media nocte] ingreditur clerus et populus ad secundam vigiliam, et cantatur invitatorium.[3]

It results from these two passages that the most solemnly observed festivals of saints had, at Rome, two nocturn offices, one at nightfall, without invitatory, the other in the middle of the night, with invitatory. I conjecture that the office celebrated at nightfall without invitatory was the proper office of the saint, the vigil office of the festival; and the office with invitatory celebrated in the middle of the night the ferial office, now transformed into the office of the saint.[4]

[1] *De ord. Antiph.* 28. See the passage quoted, p. 64, note 1.

[2] *ibid.* 59.

[3] *ibid.* 60. Compare the *Ordo Romanus* of the Vallicellan library: "*De festis sanctorum, qualiter apud Romanos celebrentur.* In primis congregant se ad ecclesiam sero, ad vigilias peragendas illius sancti cujus natalis fuerit, ingredientesque ad vigilias *Domine labia mea aperies* et invitatorium non dicunt, sed statim incipiunt antiphonas in psalmos cujuscunque fuerit, aut Apostolorum aut cujuslibet sanctorum. Qui voluerint VIIII. lectiones facere, VIIII. psalmos decantent; qui vero VII. cantent VI. [sic]; qui vero V. similiter VI. [sic] . . . Item in nocte festivitatis ipsorum ad nocturnos in *Venite exultemus* antiphona, id est invitatorium de sanctis . . . psalmos cotidianos deferunt, et versus de sanctis, lectiones aut III. aut VII. aut si voluerint VIIII. ad ipsum natalicium pertinentes leguntur."

[4] *ibid.* 17: "Sunt festivitates quarum officia celebrantur nocturnalia circa vespertinam horam, quae vulgo appellantur propria; et in posteriore parte noctis canitur alterum officium, sive de propria feria, seu de communibus sanctis."

But this ferial nocturn was destined in the end to be ousted even from the precarious position which had remained to it: every vestige of the duality of the office, of the joint celebration of the offices of the feria and the Saint's Day, was effaced: there was no longer more than one nocturnal office, and that office was altogether given up to the saint. The Carolingian liturgists recognized no other custom than this.[1] No doubt, these double vigils were not assigned to all the greater feasts without distinction: in the ninth century the festivals of SS. Peter and Paul, S. Andrew, S. Laurence, the Assumption, and the Nativity of S. John Baptist were the only ones which were observed with this special kind of solemnity. But this solemnity endured, and was a survival of the ancient observance.[2] After the thirteenth century it vanished even at Rome itself, and nothing was left of it but the liturgical expression (inexplicable without reference to its true origin) "a double office".

What were the festivals of saints observed at Rome? The antiphonary of S. Peter's furnishes us with a purely Roman kalendar of the office in its own time, and this kalendar of the twelfth century can easily be brought into the state in which it would have been three centuries earlier; it is sufficient for us to compare it with the list of festivals given in the sacramentary called "Gregorian," which represents the Roman *Sanctorale* of the time of Pope Hadrian I (772-95), and, as a further help, with the lists in the Carolingian evangeliaries, such as that of Ada of Treves, a MS. of the first years of the ninth century. Thus we eliminate from the kalendar of the antiphonary of S. Peter's the feasts which are posterior to the opening of the ninth century. In the following list the festivals in larger Roman type are those included both in the Gregorian sacramentary and the *Comes* of Ada of Treves; those in italics are included in the latter only;[3] those in smaller Roman type are the additional ones found in the antiphonary of S. Peter's.

[1] *De eccl. off.* IV. 35: "In festivitatibus quas recolimus, recolimus per novenarium numerum". The *Ordo Romanus* of the Vallicellan library, quoted above, shows that at Rome the canon of nine lessons and nine responds was not at first definitely established. We read there, in fact, as follows: "Lectiones vero aut III. aut V. aut VII. aut VIIII. in vigilia sanctorum aut ubilibet contigerit leguntur; nam IV. aut VI. vel VIII. nullo modo, quia antiquitus talis consuetudo non fuit."

[2] *De ord. Antiph.* 62: "Duo nocturnalia officia inveni in Romano antiphonario in vigilia S. Mariae de Assumptione ejus: idcirco et nos duplicia officia posuimus in festivitate in nostro antiphonario".

[3] K. Menzel, *Die Trierer Ada-Handschrift* (Leipzig, 1889), pp. 16-27. See Dom Morin: "Le plus ancien *Comes* ou Lectionnaire de l'Église Romaine". *Revue Bénédictine*, 1910, pp. 41-74, for an earlier state of the Roman kalendar (sixth to seventh century).

JANUARY.

1. Octave of Nativity. *S. Martina.*
2. S. Telesphorus.
6. Epiphany.
13. Octave of Epiphany.
14. S. Felix, Priest.
15. S. Maurus.
16. S. Marcellus, Pope.
17. S. Anthony.
18. S. Prisca. S. Aquila.
19. SS. Marius and Martha.
20. SS. Fabian and Sebastian.
21. S. Agnes.
22. S. Anastasius. *S. Vincent.*
23. S. Emerentiana.
25. Conversion of S. Paul.
28. S. Agnes, for the second time.
29. SS. Papias and Maurus.
31. SS. Cyrus and John.

FEBRUARY.

2. The Purification. S. Simeon.
3. S. Blaise.
5. S. Agatha.
10. S. Scholastica.
11. S. Valentine, Priest.
22. S. Peter's Chair.
24. S. Matthias.

MARCH.

10. The forty Martyrs.
12. S. Gregory the Great.
21. S. Benedict.
25. The Annunciation.

APRIL.

14. SS. Tiburtius, Valerian, and Maximus.
23. S. George, Martyr.
25. S. Mark, Evangelist.
26. S. Cletus, Pope.
28. S. Vitalis, Martyr.

MAY.

1. SS. Philip and James.
3. Finding of the Holy Cross. SS. Alexander and his companions.
5. Translation of S. Stephen.
6. S. John before the Latin Gate.
8. Apparition of S. Michael the Archangel.
10. SS. Gordianus and Epimachus.
12. S. Pancras. SS. Nereus and Achilles.
14. S. Boniface.
19. S. Pudentiana.
25. S. Urban, Pope.
26. S. Eleutherius, Pope.
27. S. John, Pope.
31. S. Petronilla.

JUNE.

1. S. Nicomede.
2. SS. Peter and Marcellinus. S. Erasmus.
9. SS. Primus and Felicianus.
11. S. Barnabas.
12. SS. Basilides, Cyrinus, Nabor and Nazarius.
15. SS. Vitus and Modestus.
18. SS. Marcus and Marcellianus.
19. SS. Gervase and Protase.
24. Nativity of S. John Baptist.
26. SS. John and Paul.
28. S. Leo, Pope.
29. SS. Peter and Paul.
30. Commemoration of S. Paul.

JULY.

2. SS. Processus and Martinian.
6. Octave of SS. Peter and Paul.
10. The Seven Brethren. S. Rufina.
12. SS. Nabor and Felix; S. Pius, Pope.
13. S. Anacletus, Pope.
15. *S. Cyrus.*
17. S. Alexis.
18. S. Symphorosa.
21. *S. Praxedis.*
22. S. Mary Magdalene.
23. *S. Apollinaris.*

24. S. Christina.
25. S. James the Greater, Apostle.
26. S. Pastor.
27. S. Pantaleo.
28. S. Nazarius; S. Victor, Pope.
29. S. Felix, Pope. *SS. Simplicius, Faustinus and Beatrix.*
30. SS. Abdon and Sennen.

AUGUST.

1. S. Peter's Chains. The Maccabees.
2. S. Stephen, Pope.
3. Invention of S. Stephen.
4. S. Justin.
6. S. Sixtus, Pope; SS. Felicissimus and Agapitus.
7. S. Donatus.
8. S. Cyriac.
9. S. Romanus.
10. S. Laurence.
11. S. Tiburtius.
12. SS. Euplus and Leucius.
13. S. Hippolytus.
14. S. Eusebius.
15. The Assumption.
18. S. Agapitus.
22. S. Timothy.
24. S. Aura.
25. S. Bartholomew, Apostle.
28. S. Hermes; S. Augustine, Bishop. S. Balbina.
29. Beheading of S. John Baptist; S. Sabina.
30. SS. Felix and Adauctus.
31. S. Paulinus.

SEPTEMBER.

1. S. Giles.
2. S. Antoninus.
8. Nativity of our Lady; S. Adrian.
9. S. Gorgonius.
11. SS. Protus and Hyacinthus.
14. Exaltation of the Holy Cross; SS. Cornelius and Cyprian.
15. S. Nicomede.

16. Saint Euphemia; SS. Lucy and Geminianus.
21. S. Matthew, Apostle and Evangelist.
22. S. Maurice.
23. S. Linus, Pope; S. Thecla.
25. S. Eustace.
27. SS. Cosmas and Damian.
29. S. Michael, Archangel.
30. S. Jerome.

OCTOBER.

7. S. Marcus, Pope; SS. Sergius and Bacchus.
9. SS. Denis, Rusticus and Eleutherius.
14. S. Callixtus, Pope.
18. S. Luke, Evangelist.
25. *SS. Chrysanthus and Darius.*
26. S. Evaristus, Pope.
28. SS. Simon and Jude, Apostles.
30. S. Germanus of Capua.
31. S. Quintin.

NOVEMBER.

1. All Saints; S. Caesarius.
8. The four crowned Martyrs.
9. S. Theodore.
10. S. Trypho.
11. S. Martin, Bishop; S. Mennas.
12. S. Martin, Pope.
13. S. John Chrysostom.
22. Saint Caecilia.
23. S. Clement, Pope; S. Felicitas.
24. S. Chrysogonus.
25. S. Katherine.
29. S. Saturninus.
30. S. Andrew.

DECEMBER.

2. S. Bibiana.
4. S. Barbara; S. Juliana.
5. S. Sabas.
6. S. Nicolas.
7. S. Ambrose; S. Sabinus.
11. S. Damasus, Pope.
13. S. Lucy. S. Eustratius.

21. S. Thomas, Apostle.
23. S. Gregory of Spoleto.
25. Nativity of our Lord; S. Anastasia.
S. Eugenia.
26. S. Stephen.
27. S. John Evangelist.
28. Holy Innocents.
31. S. Sylvester, Pope.

To the eyes of anyone who is familiar with the topography of Rome in the seventh century,[1] a whole series of names stand out from the list given above; the names of Roman martyrs, recalling the most celebrated sanctuaries in the suburban cemeteries. The Popes SS. Sylvester and Marcellus, had their basilica (*S. Sylvestri ecclesia*) in the cemetery of Priscilla on the New Salarian Way. S. Prisca (with whom the piety of the faithful afterwards joined S. Aquila, as suggested by Romans XVI. 3) was also buried in the same cemetery. SS. Nereus and Achilles, having been interred (as was also S. Petronilla) in the burial-place of the Christian members of the Flavian *gens*, gave their names to the basilica of the cemetery of Domitilla, on the Ardeatine Way. S. Fabian, Pope, together with the Popes Stephen and Sixtus, reposed in the pontifical crypt in the cemetery of Callixtus. S. Sebastian had his basilica on the Appian Way, *ad Catacumbas;* S. Agnes, on the Nomentan Way; S. Valentine on the Flaminian. Over the cemetery of Praetextatus, on the Appian Way, was the basilica of SS. Tiburtius and Valerian. S. Alexander, confounded, even as early as the seventh century, with the Pope Alexander, had his basilica at the seventh milestone on the Nomentan Way, and S. Pancras on the Aurelian Way. S. Urban, though buried in the pontifical crypt in the cemetery of Callixtus, had an oratory named after him at the cemetery of Praetextatus. SS. Peter and Marcellinus had their basilica on the Lavican Way, *ad duas lauros;* SS. Mark and Marcellianus, on the Ardeatine Way; SS. Processus and Martinian, on the Aurelian Way; the Seven Holy Brethren, children of S. Felicitas, had their memorial in the little church of S. Felicitas, on the New Salarian Way; S. Felix, who gave his name to the cemetery *ad insalatos*, had also his basilica there, at the third milestone on the road to Porto. At the fifth milestone on the same road, the cemetery *Generosae* con-

[1] De Rossi, *Roma. Sott.* t. I. pp. 175-83.

tained the bodies of SS. Simplicius, Faustinus and Viatrix; at the second milestone, *ad ursum pileatum*, was the burial-place of SS. Abdon and Sennen. SS. Felicissimus and Agapitus lay in the cemetery of Praetextatus on the Appian Way. The basilica of S. Cyriac and his companions was at the seventh milestone on the road to Ostia. S. Hippolytus had given his name to a cemetery near to that of S. Laurence, on the Tiburtine Way. The basilica of S. Hermes was at the cemetery called *Basillae*, on the Old Salarian Way; that of SS. Felix and Adauctus at the cemetery *Commodillae* on the road to Ostia. SS. Protus and Hyacinth had their tomb in the cemetery *Basillae*. To Pope Cornelius belonged a basilica named after him, situated over the cemetery of Callixtus; Pope Marcus had given his name to a basilica at the cemetery *Balbinae* on the Ardeatine Way; the basilica of the cemetery *Calepodii*, on the Aurelian Way was named after Pope Callixtus. A church was built on the New Salarian Way under the names of SS. Chrysanthus and Darius. S. Caecilia was the most popular saint of the cemetery of Callixtus. To the cemetery *Trasonis*, on the New Salarian Way belonged the church of S. Saturninus. At the tenth milestone on the Cornelian Way was the basilica of S. Rufina; at the first milestone on the Prenestine Way, that of S. Agapitus; at the tenth on the Aurelian Way, that of S. Basilides. Add to these SS. John and Paul, the only ones among the martyrs of Rome to be originally buried within the walls: over their tomb was the beautiful basilica on the Caelian, known as *Titulus Pammachii*.

At the time when the itineraries of pilgrims were written, which we still possess, itineraries of the date of Benedict Biscop (628-90), these were the sanctuaries that were visited, and honoured with festal observance, the anniversaries of which could not possibly disappear, and, in fact, did not disappear, but were received into the liturgy of the Divine Office. Nor was this the case only with such festivals as those of S. Peter, S. Paul, and S. Laurence, which were connected with the three most famous basilicas of the outskirts of Rome.

The anniversaries of the sanctuaries which we have just enumerated constituted the old *Sanctorale* of Rome, the *Sanctorale* of the cemeteries. But other memories, and other devotional tendencies, led to the creation of festivals of somewhat later date. The *titulus Pudentis* became in the eighth century *titulus S. Pudentianae*, assuming the name of a martyr—*Potentiana*—buried in the cemetery of Priscilla, and thus in-

troduced into the urban *Sanctorale* the festival of S. Pudentiana. Similarly, to the fact of the *titulus Praxedis* becoming, about the same time, *titulus S. Praxedis* was due the adoption of the urban festival of S. Praxedis. The anniversary of S. Clement, even before the end of the fourth century, became associated with the *titulus Clementis*. The basilica known as "Santi Quattro," an old church on the Caelian, hitherto unnamed, had taken up the enigmatic commemoration of the martyrs who bore the name of the *Quatuor Coronati*. The church of S. Stephen's-the-Round, also on the Caelian, had received, under Pope Theodore (642-9), the relics and the anniversary festival of SS. Primus and Felicianus of Nomento, brought from the fourteenth milestone on the Nomentan Way. The private chapel of the *domus Pinciana*, the mansion of the Anitii, on the Pincian, when restored in the eighth century by Pope Hadrian I, introduced at Rome the name and the festival of S. Felix of Nola. The basilica *ad aquas Salvias*, built in the middle of the seventh century, received the name of S. Anastasius the Persian (*d.* 627), with whom was associated, not long after, the Spaniard S. Vincent, because of his head having been brought to this very spot, *ad aquas Salvias*. S. Agatha of Catania had in the sixth century given her name to a little Arian church in the Suburra; S. George, the legendary hero of the Greek-speaking churches of the East, to a little church of the district called *Velabrum*, which was enriched in the eighth century with the head of this saint; SS. Gervase and Protase, two Milanese martyrs, to the *titulus Vestinae*, in the fifth century—but, in the eighth, its title was changed to that of S. Vitalis, a saint of Ravenna, looked upon as being the father of SS. Gervase and Protase. S. Apollinaris, another saint of Ravenna, gave his name to an oratory built by Pope Honorius (625-38) on the atrium in front of S. Peter's; S. Sabina, an Umbrian martyr, to the *titulus Sabinae* on the Aventine, a church enriched with her relics towards the end of the seventh century; S. Adrian of Nicomedia, to the ancient *Curia Hostilia*, transformed into a basilica in the seventh century; S. Euphemia, also of Nicomedia, to a church built or restored in the seventh century; SS. Cosmas and Damian, the two unfee'd physicians so popular through the whole of the Greek-speaking East, to the basilica contrived by Pope Felix IV (526-30) in the *aula* formerly used for the keeping of Roman archives; S. Caesarius of Terracina to a small basilica on the Palatine; S. Chrysogonus of Sirmium to the old *titulus Chrysogoni* of the Trastevere; S. Lucy of

Syracuse to the Greek convent *De renatis*, founded towards the eighth century; S. Anastasia of Sirmium to the old *titulus Anastasiae* on the Palatine. In these cases it is plain that we have to do with foreign martyrs, who became Roman by the translation of their relics, or by their happening to become identified with the ancient title of some church at Rome.[1]

The remaining festivals of the Roman kalendar have not that local and monumental character in virtue of which such anniversaries become properly Roman. The Exaltation of the Holy Cross (Sept. 14th) is a festival of Jerusalem, the anniversary of the dedication of the Constantinian basilicas on Mount Calvary: it was introduced at Rome in the seventh century.[2] The festival of the Invention or Revelation of the Cross (May 3rd) would seem to be, at Rome, a Gallican importation not much anterior to the seventh century.[3] Mgr. Duchesne has definitely stated that "the Church of Rome does not seem to have observed any feast of the Blessed Virgin before the seventh century, when she adopted the four Byzantine festivals,"[4] the Nativity (Sept. 8th) the Annunciation (March 25th), the Purification (Feb. 2nd), and the Falling-asleep or Assumption (Aug. 15th), all four of which were celebrated at S. Mary's the greater: there is no record of them at Rome earlier than the time of Pope Sergius I (687-701).[5] Next come the festivals of the Apostles, and foremost among these, the feast of S. Andrew, brother of S. Peter; then those of S. John, SS. Philip and James, and S. Peter's chains. All of these had anniversaries as being dedication festivals of urban basilicas, but not to be traced back, at Rome, further than the sixth century at earliest.[6]

The feast of All Saints was originally the anniversary festival of the Pantheon, consecrated by Boniface IV (608-15), under the title *B. Mariae et omnium Sanctorum*.[7]

[1] See M. Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma dalle loro origini sino al secolo* XVI. (Rome, 1887), under the titles of the several churches referred to.

[2] *L.P.* t. I. p. 374.

[3] Duchesne, *Origines*, p. 264. At a later date, following the legend known as that of Judas-Cyriac, the creation of this festival was attributed to the Pope, Eusebius, of the date of the Invention (A.D. 310). See *Micrologus*, 55: "Eusebius, Papa a B. Petro tricesimus secundus, constituit ut omnes Christiani Inventionem S. Crucis V. Nonas Maii solemniter celebrarent. Unde et nos illam cum pleno officio observare debemus . . . Exaltatio autem S. Crucis non adeo generaliter et solemniter celebratur, et hoc fortasse ideo quia nullum inde tam speciale statutum ut de Inventione reperitur."

[4] Duchesne, *Origines*, p. 259.

[5] *L.P.* t. I. p. 381.

[6] Duchesne, *Origines*, p. 265.

[7] *L.P.* t. I. p. 317. The dedication was set down as being on May 13th. Sigebert of Gembloux relates that in 835 Louis le Debonnaire, by agreement with Pope Gregory IV, fixed the feast of All Saints, for France and Germany, on November 1st, *P.L.* CLX. 159.

We have verified the observance of the principle that, before the middle of the eighth century, no festival of a saint might be kept, unless it was localized in some specified basilica, either of the cemeteries or within the city. At a later date—when this principle had ceased to govern the liturgy of the *Sanctorale*, but only then—appear the festivals which have no local habitation connected with their observance. The great monastic traditions led to the institution of such festivals as those of S. Benedict, S. Maur, S. Anthony, S. Sabas, S. Scholastica; legendary literature brought in the observance of those of S. Nicholas, S. Barbara, S. Katherine, S. Eustace, S. Maurice, S. Christina, S. Christopher, S. Alexis; admiration of, and gratitude for, their writings accounted for those of S. Justin, S. Paulinus of Nola, S. John Chrysostom, S. Jerome, and S. Ambrose. But it must also be remembered that not all the festivals marked in the kalendar or furnished with an office in the antiphonary were universally or even generally observed. There was still a very large liberty in this respect; each church and each monastery took the course dictated by local devotion, and the *Sanctorale* was in practice a much more limited thing than might appear at a first glance.[1]

Hence also the need was not as yet experienced of classing festivals according to their degree of importance, except in a very vague manner. Amalarius distinguishes in the Roman Use the principal feasts—*praeclarissimi*—and to these he attributes a double nocturnal office.[2] Thus we see that Roman custom then recognized the principle that some festivals are of lower rank. A small number of festivals of saints had an octave.[3]

[1] Amalar. *De eccl. off.* IV. 36: "Non valemus omnium sanctorum natalitia celebrare". *De ord. Antiph.* 28: "Multa officia sanctorum indidi in nostro antiphonario ex Romano quae non habet Metensis antiphonarius . . . addidimus etiam pauca quae nostra regio sola continet."

[2] *De ord. Antiph.* 59. He thus assigns *duo nocturnalia officia* to the festivals of SS. Peter and Paul, S. Laurence, the Assumption, S. Andrew (*ibid.* 60-3). Hayto, Bishop of Basle (*d.* 836) gives a list of feasts specially observed: Christmas, S. Stephen, S. John, Holy Innocents, *Octava Domini*, Epiphany, Purification, Easter, the Rogation days, Ascension, Pentecost, S. John Baptist, the Apostles, especially SS. Peter and Paul, "qui Europam sua praedicatione illuminaverunt," the Assumption, S. Michael, "Dedicatio cujuscumque Oratorii, seu cujuslibet Sancti in cujus honore eadem ecclesia fundata est, quod vicinis tantum circummorantibus indicendum est". The other festivals of saints, as of S. Remigius or S. Martin, "non sunt cogendae ad feriandum, nec tamen prohibendum, si plebes hoc caste et zelo Dei cupiunt exercere". Ahyto, *Capitulare*, 8 (*P.L.* CXV. 12). Compare Canon 36 of the Council of Mainz in 813, Mansi, t. XIV, p. 73, especially the following passage: "Et illas festivitates martyrum vel confessorum observare decrevimus, quorum in unaquaque parochia sancta corpora requiescunt".

[3] Amalar. *De eccl. off.* IV. 36: "Solemus octavas natalitiorum aliquot sanctorum celebrare, eorum scilicet quorum festivitas apud nos clarior habetur, veluti est in Octavis Apostolorum Petri et Pauli."

The office for saints' days, for the greater ones at all events, was framed on the model of that for Christmas, the Epiphany or the Ascension: it was an office of nine psalms, nine lessons, nine responds.[1] All nine lessons were taken from the Acts of the saints, as were also the words of the antiphons, responds, versicles and responses. The nine psalms were not left undetermined: each class of festivals had its own set, whether of Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, or Virgins, under which four heads the office of the Common of Saints was classified. This office of the Common, besides its nine psalms, had antiphons, responds, versicles and responses proper for each of the four classes above mentioned.[2] But it may be remarked that for a good part of its antiphons and responds the office of the Common is indebted to that of the Proper of Saints: the office of the Common of Apostles to that of the feast of S. Peter, and the office of the Common of Virgins to that of S. Agnes. In fact, the Proper offices served as models for those of the Common, which probably do not date further back than the period when the *Sanctorale* was codified, whereas the Proper offices, composed for local festivals, represented severally the tradition of the various basilicas where these were celebrated. I do not pretend that this is more than a hypothesis: but it agrees remarkably well with observations that are easy to verify.

The office of SS. Peter and Paul belonged to the basilica of S. Peter. In this office there is nothing of a legendary character: the lessons were taken from the Acts of the Apostles, and from the most classic Fathers, S. Augustine, S. Leo, S. Jerome.[3] The antiphons and responds are made up of texts of the Holy Scriptures—*Si diligis Me, Simon Petre—Domine, si Tu es, jube me venire—Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram—Beatus es, Simon Petre*, etc.—or at all events closely suggested by them—*Tu es pastor ovium, princeps Apostolorum, tibi tradidit omnia regna mundi*," etc. In the chastened taste here displayed in the choice of matter for liturgical use we recognize the work of the same school to which we owe the text of the responsoral of the office of the season. There is only one respond in the office of June the 29th which is not biblical, and it is one which serves as it were for the hall-mark of the basilica of the Vatican, for which it was composed: it is the respond *Qui regni claves*, which reproduces the text of the metrical inscrip-

[1] *De ord. Antiph.* 15. [2] Tomasi, t. IV. pp. 150-1.

[3] *ibid.* pp. 319-20, quotes the lessons appointed for this festival in the homiliary of the eighth century, MS. *Vatican Lat.* 3835. Cf. also Ehrensberger, p. 148. See note 1, p. 82.

tion carved over the entrance to the basilica by Pope Simplicius (468-83):—

> Qui regni claves et curam tradit ovilis;
> Qui caeli terraeque Petro commisit habenas,
> Ut reseret clausis, ut solvat vincla ligatis,
> Simplicio nunc Ipse dedit sacra jura tenere,
> Praesule quo cultus venerandae cresceret aulae.[1]

For its verse the same respond has this distich:—

> Solve, jubente Deo, terrarum, Petre, catenas;
> Qui facis ut pateant caelestia regna beatis.

which in the seventh century appeared in the basilica of S. Peter engraved *in icona S. Petri.*[2]

The office of the Apostles Peter and Paul was, like that of S. John Baptist, one of the few saints' day offices which conformed faithfully to the pattern of the office of the Season. For the most part the proper offices accommodated themselves to the taste for legends and legendary literature. Thus the antiphons and responds of the office of S. Andrew are taken from the apocryphal *Acta Andreae.* The acts of S. Laurence furnished the text of the antiphons and responds of his office. It was the same with the offices of S. Caecilia, S. Sebastian, S. Agnes, SS. John and Paul, and a host of others. And as we remember that we were told by the *Ordo Romanus* of the Vallicellan library that the acts and passions of the saints were only read at Rome in the church of each saint—and that this was the case down to the time of Pope Hadrian I (772-95), who caused them to be read at S. Peter's—we may conclude that, down to the same date, these antiphons and responds taken from hagiographic legends were respectively peculiar to the basilicas of the several saints.

It would not have been hard to find apocryphal matter for the office of the feasts of the Blessed Virgin: but, as a matter of fact, they provide us, on the contrary, with the most pure and graceful responds in all the Responsoral:—

[1] De Rossi, *Inscript.* t. II. p. 55: "He who bestows the keys of His kingdom and the care of His fold; Who committed to Peter the reins of heaven and earth, that he might open the prison for the captives, and loose the chains of those that are bound, has now granted to Simplicius to wield that sacred power, that under his rule reverence for His holy courts might yet more increase".

[2] De Rossi, *ibid.* p. 254: "At God's command, O Peter, loose the chains of earth; thou by whose means the heavenly realms are opened to the blest". Dom Morin (following W. Levison) points out that the antiphon of the Holy Cross, *O magnum pietatis opus*, is in like manner a distich taken from an inscription in the oratory of the Holy Cross in the baptistery of S. Peter's (*Revue Bénédictine*, 1910, p. 401).

Vidi speciosam sicut columbam, ascendentem super rivos aquarum, cujus inaestimabilis odor erat magnus in vestimentis ejus, et sicut dies verni circumdabant eam flores rosarum et lilia convallium. Quae est ista qui ascendit per desertum sicut virgula fumi ex aromatibus myrrhae et thuris? Et sicut dies verni, etc.[1]

Others, again, less closely inspired by Holy Scripture, but penetrated by a spirit of sound dogma and of tender affection:—

Pulchra facie, sed pulchrior fide, beata es, Virgo Maria; respuens mundum laetaberis cum angelis. Intercede pro omnibus nobis. Sancta et immaculata virginitas, quibus te laudibus referam nescio: Intercede, etc.[2]

The beautiful respond:—

Gaude, Maria Virgo! cunctas haereses sola interemisti, qui Gabrielis Archangeli dictis credidisti, dum virgo Deum et hominem genuisti, et post partum virgo inviolata permansisti. Gabrielem Archangelum credimus divinitus te esse affatum, uterum tuum de Spiritu Sancto credimus impraegnatum. Erubescat Judaeus infelix, qui dicit Christum ex Joseph semine esse natum![3] —

composed, it is said, by a chanter born blind, was first sung at the dedication of the Pantheon by Boniface IV (608-15).[4]

I will not enlarge further on the subject of the Roman *Sanctorale* of the end of the eighth century. What has just been said is sufficient to show that the saints' day offices—a late edition to the canonical office of the basilicas—could only find room there by infringing on that ancient office.

In the meantime the Roman Office, in that completed state which we have just described, had arrived at a pitch of perfection which was destined not to be surpassed, or indeed maintained, but which was undoubtedly worthy of the extraordinary acceptance secured to it by the admiration of the Anglo-Saxon,

[1] "I beheld her, beautiful as a dove, rising above the water-brooks, and her raiment was filled with perfume beyond all price. Even as the spring-time was she girded with rosebuds and lilies of the valley. Who is this that cometh up from the desert, like a wreath of sweet smoke arising from frankincense and myrrh? Even as the spring-time, etc."

[2] "Fair in face but fairer far in thy faith (S. Luke I. 45), blessèd art thou, O Virgin Mary; despising the world, thou shalt rejoice with the angels. Pray thou for us all. O holy and spotless maidenhood, I wot not how to praise thee. Pray thou for us all."

[3] "Rejoice, O Virgin Mary! thou alone hast destroyed all heresies, who didst believe the word of Gabriel the Archangel, conceiving, whilst a virgin, Him who was both God and man, and after His birth remaining still a pure virgin. We do believe that, sent from God, the Archangel Gabriel spoke to thee the word; we do believe that thy womb was made fruitful by the Holy Ghost. Confounded be the unhappy Jew, who saith that of the seed of Joseph Christ was born."

[4] Tomasi, t. IV. p. 212, who refers to Floravante Martinelli, *Roma ex ethnica sacra* (Rome, 1653).

Frankish and Germanic Churches. A work it was of many an unknown hand, and taking shape but slowly, a remarkable work, in which lived the very soul of Rome! For Rome had enshrined there the very best of her literature and of her history; her Psalter, her Bible, her Fathers, her Martyrs. She had set upon it the stamp of her straightforward and simple piety, more characterized by adherence to historic truth than by dogmatic subtilty—of her sense of the beautiful, delighting in broad, sober, and harmonious compositions—of her language, terse, clear, and concise, Biblical in its phraseology, musical in every cadence. Above all, she had endowed it with her chant, that Gregorian plain-chant which was scorned by the Renaissance, and no longer even understood in the seventeenth century—under the yoke of whose tradition we still live—but which we only need to hear sung in its true notation by the monks of S. Anselm on the Aventine in order to recognize—and that too with the added charm of its delicate archaism—something of the elegance and power of expression which thrilled of old the pilgrims of S. Peter.

EXCURSUS A.

EXTRACTS FROM GERBERT'S ANONYMOUS LITURGICAL AUTHOR.

(S. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS. No. 39; ninth century, 120 folios.)

Fols. 49-118 contain the anonymous fragments published by Gerbert, *Monumenta veteris Liturgiae Alemannicae* (S. Blasian, 1779): on fol. 49, "Cantatur autem omnis Scriptura, etc." (see below), Gerbert, t. II. p. 181; on fol. 50, "Incipiunt capitula de libris Novi ac Veteri Testamenti plenitudinem, etc.," Gerbert, *ibid.*; at fol. 54, "Incipit instructio ecclesiastici ordinis qualiter in coenobiis, etc.," Gerbert, pp. 175-7; at fol. 67, "Incipit capitulare ecclesiastici ordinis qualiter Sancta et Apostolica, etc.," and immediately following, on fol. 100, "Item de cursu diurno, etc." (see below), Gerbert, pp. 168-75; at fol. 104, "Item incipit de convivio sive prandio atque coenis monachorum qualiter in monasteriis, etc." (see below), Gerbert, pp. 183-5.

See also G. Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der MSS. der Stiftsbibliothek von S. Gallen*, p. 122. The text of the following extracts has been collated for me with the MS. by M. Fäh, curator of the library of S. Gall.

For an English translation of a portion of these extracts, see Appendix.

I.

Cantatur autem omnis scriptura sancti canonis ab initio anni usque ad finem, et sic ordo est canonis decantandi in ecclesia sancti Petri.

Quinque libri Moyse cum Iesu Nave et Iudicum in tempore veris. Septem diebus ante initium quadragesimae usque ad octavam diem ante pascha liber Isaiae prophetae, unde ad passionem Christi convenit. Et lamentationes Ieremiae. In diebus a pascha epistolae apostolorum et actus atque apocalypsin usque pentecosten. In tempore aestus libri Regum et Paralipomenon usque ad medium autumni, hoc est usque quinto decimo kalendas novembris. Deinde libri Salomonis, Mulierum atque Machabaeorum, et liber Tobi usque ad calendas decembris. Ante autem natale domini nostri Ihesu Christi Isaias Ieremias et Daniel usque ad epiphaniam. Postea Ezechiel et prophetae minores atque Iob usque in idus februarias. Psalmi omni tempore, euangelia et apostoli similiter, tractatus prout ordo poscit, passiones martyrum et vitae patrum catholicorum leguntur.

IV.

Item de cursu diurno vel nocturno qualiter horas canonicas nuntiantur in sancta sedis romanae ecclesiae sive in monasteriis constitutis.

[1] In primis prima sic temperantur ut sic canatur quando ora prima diei fuerit expleta si tamen necesse fuerit aliquam operam cum festinatione facere, sin autem quomodo ora diei secunda expleta fuerit. Sic cantatur apud eos prima, hoc est primitus dicit prior DEUS IN ADIUTORIUM MEUM INTENDE, et inde caeteri quod sequitur. Ista prima ibi cantatur ubi dormiunt et ibidem pro invicem capitulo dicto orant. Statim ibi sedeunt et prior cum ipsis et ibi legunt regulam sancti Benedicti, et a priore vel cui ipse iusserit per singulos sermones exponitur, ita ut omnes intelligant ut nullus frater se de ignorantiam regulae excusare possit. Inde accepta benedictione vadunt sive ad ciandum vel vestiendum atque lavandum, et abent spatium ad hoc faciendum usque ad oram terciam. Si est consuetudo apud ipsos ut ille archiclavus qui claves ecclesiae sive misterium sacrum sub cura sua habet, ipse custodit et oras canonicas ad cursum celebrandum quando signum pulsare debeat ut reddantur. Et neque ad tertiam nec ad sexta neque ad nonam vel ad vesperam nec ad completorio neque ad matutinis non dicit prior quando incipit apud illos DOMINE LABIA MEA APERIES, ni tantum ad nocturnas.

[2] Completorio autem tempore aestatis quomodo sol occumbit colliguntur ad collecta. Tangit autem frater cui est cura iniuncta cymbalum aut tabula, et colliguntur fratres in unum locum et prior ipsorum cum ipsis sedens. Et omne sive estate sive hibernum tempore semper leccionem ad collectam leguntur, et ibi fructum quod eis Deus dederit manducantur et bibent. Postea pulsato signo canuntur completorio ubi dormiunt in dormitorio, et extremo versu dicuntur antequam dormiant, hoc est PONE DOMINE CUSTODIAM ORI MEO, et tunc vadunt cum silentio pausare in lectula sua.

[3] Pausant autem usque nocte media si solemnitas praecipua non fuerit, si vero dominica vel alia grandis solemnitas evenerit temporius

surgunt. Et habent positum ubi dormiunt tintinabulum talem qui ad excitandum eos pulsatur, et postea modico intervallo facto surgunt fratres. Cui autem opus exire ad necessaria seu urina digerendum, et ad introitum ecclesiae habeant vasculum positum cum aqua ubi lavent manus suas vel facies et tergant linteo iuxta posito. Et iterum cum pulsatum fuerit aliud signum ad psallendum parati ingrediuntur monaci, et prior statim dicit prolixe DOMINE LABIA MEA APERIES sub GLORIA PATRI lente decantantes et in fine ALLELUIA concludentes. Cantat statim cui iussum fuerit invitatorio, quod est VENITE EXULTEMUS DOMINO, cum antiphona ceteris respondentibus. Et omni officio suo quod supra scriptum est complebuntur. Nocturnis autem finitis si lux statim non supervenerit faciunt modicum intervallum ut superius dictum est propter necessitates fratrum, et iterum ingrediuntur ad matutinis laudibus explendas.

[4] Si autem cottidianis dies fuerint tempore hyberni, post nocturnis finitis iterum pausantes usquequo lux apparere incipiat, et sic ingrediuntur ad celebrandum matutinorum laudibus. Sic autem est semper solicitus ille frater cui cura commissa est ut semper signum competenti ora insonare debeat. Si autem exinde aliqua negligentia ut adsolet fragilitate humana ei evenerit ut ante oram aut post oram pulsaverit, poenitentia ei exinde indicit prior suus. Et propterea vel reverentia Dei hoc semper metitatur et in his sit solicitus ut omnia semper oneste vel competenter et secundum ordinem explicantur, et Deus semper in omnibus magnifice laudetur.

V.

Item incipit de convivio sive prandio atque coenis monachorum qualiter in monasteriis romanae ecclesiae constitutis est consuetudo.

[1] Quando autem ad prandium accedunt dicit prior orationem cum fratribus, hoc est OCULI OMNIUM totam cum GLORIA PATRI subsequente prolixe dicuntur et postea in fine ALLELUIA canuntur. Et dicit sacerdos orationem talem vocem ut cuncti audiantur et respondeant AMEN HOC BENEDICANTUR NOBIS DOMINE DONA TUA, vel alias sunt plurimas quae ad hunc cibum sunt deputatas. Et sedeunt postea omnes in loco suo. Habent autem prope mensa abbatis cathedra tale ex alto stabilita cum analogio ubi librum ponitur, et sedeunt cum legunt. Et statim cum primum cibum ponunt ministri et signum insonuerit ut signetur a comedendum, respondent omnes DEO GRATIAS, priore signante aut presbytero vel cui iusserit, tali voce signatur ut universi audiant et respondent AMEN. In ipso inicio comedentium est praeparatus lector qui statim petit benedictionem dicit IUBE DOMNE BENEDICERE, senior autem dicit SALVET NOS DOMINUS, ei respondent omnes AMEN, et ingreditur ad legendum et legit quamdiu illum cibum manducant. Et postea si longo prandio habuerint ut diucius sedeant vel si alium ministrationem ministrentur, tangit prior mensa ut sileat ipse lector modicum. Et si fuerint pisces vel etiam si volatilia manducant, cum ministratur et insonuerit signum

ut benedicatur, respondent omnes DEO GRATIAS, et benedicit prior aut cui iusserit dicente CREATURAM SUAM CREATOR OMNIUM DOMINUS BENEDICAT, et respondent omnes AMEN et manducantur. Si item alius cibus fuerit dicit orationem, hoc est PRECIBUS SANCTAE DEIGENITRICIS MARIAE ET NOS ET DONA SUA CHRISTUS FILIUS DEI BENEDICAT, respondent omnes AMEN.

[2] Et ad aliam ministrationem iterum legit lector tamdiu quousque praecipiat ei abba ut finiatur, aut si ille congruam finem invenerit, si benedictio sonaverit, in extremo sermone repetit ipsum iterum secundum vicem prolixe, et respondent omnes DEO GRATIAS, et descendit. Si autem longa fuerit lectio et vel bene finierit sermonem, repetit ipsum et postea dicit TU AUTEM DOMINE DOMINE MISERERE NOBIS, et respondent omnes AMEN. Sic et ad nocturnis vel ad collecta vel ubi praeceptum legerint divinum ista est consuetudo ut semper quando incipit legere petita benedictione dicit IUBE DOMNE BENEDICERE. Quando finierit lector lectionem DEO GRATIAS respondent, et descendente eo vadit ante mensam abbatis et dat ei benedictionem unde manducat et bibit. Surgentibus autem fratribus dicent lente CONFITEANTUR TIBI DOMINE adiungentes GLORIA PATRI et ad finem ALLELUIA canentes. Et si maiorem refectionem habuerint ut eis exinde superfuerit, dicit prior vel cui cura commissa est orationem FRAGMENTA QUAE SUPERARUNT SERVIS SUIS CHRISTUS FILIUS DEI MULTIPLEXIT ET BENEDICAT ET ABUNDARE FACIAT QUI EST BENEDICTUS SAECULA SAECULORUM. Et respondentibus omnibus AMEN vadunt in oratorio ad orationem Dominium gratias agentes, et ibi dicent post finitam orationem DISPERSIT DEDIT completo officio cibi.

[3] Item ad sera coenantibus cum ingressi fuerit ubi reficiantur dicant subtrahendo moras orationem EDENT PAUPERES adiungentes GLORIA PATRI et in fine canentes ALLELUIA, et dicit senior orationem, sic tamen ut cuncti audiant et respondeant AMEN, hoc est TUA NOS DOMINE, vel alias sunt multas secundum tempus. Sedentes autem in sedilia sua faciunt similiter sicut et in prandio in die. Et si contigerit ut nox perveniet coenantibus et lumen necesse sit accendere, ille autem frater qui lumen adportat statim cum ingreditur in domo prope seniores dicit tali voce ut omnes audiant LUMEN CHRISTI, et dicunt omnes DEO GRATIAS, et iterum ipse incurvatus dicit IUBE DOMNE BENEDICERE, senior autem dicit IN NOMINE DOMINI SIT, et respondent AMEN, et sic ponit lumen in locum suum ut luceat omnibus in domo. Et si miscere iussum fuerit fratribus ut bibant, vadit minister ad ministerium et tangit digito suo calicem, et respondent omnes DEO GRATIAS, signat et respondent omnes AMEN, et sic bibent cum benedictione. Et si fructum Dominus dederit dicit senior ita orationem FRUCTUS SUOS DOMINUS OMNIPOTENS BENEDICAT, et respondent omnes AMEN, sic fit de omnia administrationem. Cum autem refectio expleta fuerit, facto signo ut surgant, ille frater qui in quoquina septimanam facit quando fratres reficiunt semper cum aliis ministris ad mensam seniorum sive fratrum administrat, cum autem surgunt a mensa ille

frater curvat se contra oriente super genua sua et rogat pro se orare dicens DOMNI ORATE PRO ME, et dicit senior SALVET NOS DOMINUS, ille frater surgens dicit prolixa voce DEO GRATIAS, statim omnes fratres incipiunt canere SEMPER TIBI DOMINE GRATIAS, ita finitum dicit prior cum fratribus MISERATOR ET MISERICORS DOMINUS prolixe cum GLORIA, adiungentes et in finem ALLELUIA sive QUI DAT ESCAM OMNI CARNI CONFITEMINI DOMINO COELI QUONIAM BONUS QUONIAM IN SAECULUM MISERICORDIA EIUS, et dicit sacerdos orationem hoc est SATIASTI NOS DOMINE, finita respondent omnes AMEN, et sic vadunt ad orationem et orant sicut supra scriptum est.

[4] Ille autem septimanarius qui ingreditur quoquinam in die dominica ingreditur vel egreditur iuxta id quod in regula sancti Benedicti continetur scriptum. Matutinis finitis statim in oratorio qui egreditur postulat pro se orare dicens DOMNI ORATE PRO ME, orantes autem dicit senior SALVUM FAC SERVUM TUUM, ille vero subsequens dicit cum omnibus fratribus BENEDICTUS ES DOMINE DEUS, hoc usque tercio repetens accepta benedictione egreditur. Statim dicit qui ingreditur DEUS IN ADIUTORIUM MEUM INTENDE, et ista oratione tertia cum omnibus repetitur, et sic accepta benedictione intrat ad serviendum fratribus suis. Sic et in ecclesia beati Petri apostoli presbyter septimanam facit, vel mansionarii qui lumen vel ornatum ipsius ecclesiae custodiunt, die sabbati ora tercia consignant officia sua ad pares suos, et sic descendunt et vadunt in domos suas, et illi alii cum presbytero vel pares suos usque ad alio sabbato serviunt et faciunt similiter, et sic in omnibus officiis honeste vel ordinabiliter Deo conservantur.

[5] Et si fortasse ista quae de multis pauca conscripsimus alicui displicuerit, non sit piger sed habeat prudentiam, sic habent alii sacerdotes vel patres seu et monachi devoti qui recto ordine vivere atque custodire cum divina auctoritate desiderant, quomodo illi vadunt, istam sanctam doctrinam ad suam utilitatem vel suos seu et multorum aedificationem cum magno labore ipsam deferent, ut hic postmodum vel in futurum perpetualiter gaudeant atque letentur in conspectu Dei et angelorum vel omnium sanctorum eius. Vadat sibi ipsa Roma, aut si piget misso suo fideli in loco suo transmittat et inquirat diligenter si est ita aut non est quod de pluribus parum conscripsimus, aut si non ita ibidem celebratur. Vel si bene cum sancta intentione vel devotione inquisierat, et adhuc in centuplum melias unde in opere Dei proficiat invenerit, tunc postmodum fortasse ista audiat despicere vel derogare vel etiam tantos et tales sanctos patres contra se adversare praesumat qui istam sanctam normam instituerunt.

[6] Id est primus beatus Damasus papa adiuvante sancto Hieronymo presbytero vel ordinem ecclesiasticum descriptum de Hierosolyma permissu sancti ipsius Damasi transmittentem instituit et ordinavit. Post hunc beatissimus Leo papa annalem cantum omnem instituit, atque opuscula in canonica institutione luculentissima edidit,

quam si quis ea usque ad unum iota non receperit vel veneraverit anathema sit. Deinde beatus Gelasius papa similiter omnem annalem cantum seu et decretalia canonum honeste atque diligentissime facto in sede beati Petri apostoli conventu sacerdotum plurimorum conscripsit. Post hunc Simachus papa similiter et ipse annalem suum cantum edidit. Iterum post hunc Iohannes papa similiter et ipse annum circuli cantum vel omni ordine conscripsit. Post hunc Bonifacius papa, qui inspirante sancto spiritu et regulam conscripsit et cantilena anni circuli ordinavit. Post hos quoque beatus Gregorius papa qui afflatu sancto spiritu magnam atque altissimam gratiam ei Dominus contulit ut super librum beati Iob moralia tibica investigatione tripliciter atque septiformem expositionem lucidaret, super Ezechiel quoque propheta prima parte seu et extrema luculentissima expositione declaravit, quid super euangelia quadraginta humiliarum expositione fecerit notum est omnibus christianis quam pulchre explanarit, quid inde aliquorum libris operante sancto Spiritu digessit vel aliarum multarum sanctarum scripturarum interpretatus est christianis in mundo tegentibus patefactum est, et cantum anni circuli nobile edidit. Post hunc Martinus papa similiter et ipse anni circuli cantum edidit. Post istos quoque Catalenus abbas ibi deserviens ad sepulcrum sancti Petri et ipse quidem annum circuli cantum diligentissime edidit. Post hunc quoque Maurianus abba ipsius sancti Petri apostoli serviens annalem suum cantum et ipse nobile ordinavit. Post hunc vero dominus Virbonus abba et omnem cantum anni circuli magnifice ordinavit.

[7] Si quis postquam ista cognoverit custodire vel celebrare in quantum Deo iubente voluerit neglexerit, aut si melius aliunde scire vel accepisse exemplum fortasse iactaverit, dubium non est quod ipse sibi fallit et in caligine erroris semetipsum infeliciter demergit, qui tantos et tales patres sanctos auctores ausus sit despicere vel derogare. Nescio qua fronte vel temeritate praesumptuoso spiritu ausi sunt beatum Hilarium atque Martinum sive Germano vel Ambrosio seu plures sanctos Dei, quos scimus de sancto sede romana a beato Petro apostolum successoribus suis directos in terra ista occidentali et virtutibus atque miraculis coruscare, qui in nullo a sancta sede romana . . . deviarint . . . [*conclusion abridged*] Cum istos praeclaros confessores Christi quos superius nominavimus sciamus frequenter eos Romam ambulasse, et apud beatos papatus vel christianis imperatoribus colloquium habuisse, vel si qui a sancta romana sede deviabant saepe recorrexisse apud nos manifestum est. . . . Oportet eos diligenter inquirere et imitare atque custodire sicut et sancta romana ecclesia custodit ut teneant et ipsi unitatem catholicae fidei. Amen.

CHAPTER IV.

THE *MODERNUM OFFICIUM* AND THE BREVIARIES OF THE *CURIA*.

WE read in a bull of June 7th, 1241, addressed by Pope Gregory IX to the Franciscans: "We give you authority to rest content with the observance of the *modern office*, which you have in your breviaries, carefully corrected by us, and conformed to the use of the Church of Rome".[1] These words may serve as a motto for the present chapter, whose whole object consists in investigating, first, what was this "Use" of the Roman Church down to the thirteenth century? secondly, what was this non-Roman Office which the Pope calls *modernum officium?* thirdly, what are we to understand by the expression *breviary* of this modern office?

I.

The Roman Office, such as we have just described it, as we have found it codified in the time of Charlemagne, was still in full vigour at Rome, in the principal basilicas, at the close of the twelfth century.

We possess, in fact, an office-book of the basilica of S. Peter, the antiphonary published by Cardinal Tomasi. This most important monument of the liturgy of the Roman basilicas is of the twelfth century. In the preceding chapter we have sufficiently established the conformity of its text and its rubrics with the information given by Amalarius to warrant us in saying that here we have a first proof of the substantial conformity

[1] Potthast, 11028: "Vestrae itaque precibus devotionis inducti, ut observantia *moderni officii*, quod in *breviariis* vestris exacta diligentia correctum a nobis ex statuto Regulae vestrae juxta Ecclesiae Romanae morem—excepto psalterio—celebrare debetis, sitis contenti perpetuo . . . vobis auctoritate praesentium indulgemus." The words *excepto psalterio* indicate that the Minorites are authorized to use the "Gallican" psalter (that which we have in the breviary of to-day), while at Rome the psalter called "Roman" was still in use.

of the Roman Office of the twelfth century with that described for us by Amalarius.[1]

A celebrated letter of Abélard's, of about the year 1140, testifies that the basilica of S. Peter was not alone in its maintenance of the ancient office, since he tells us that this was equally the case with the Lateran basilica: "*Ecclesia Lateranensis, quae mater est omnium, antiquum officium tenet*". Without doubt, as we hasten to add, Abélard intends in this passage to tell us that the Lateran *stood alone* at Rome in this observance of the ancient office: he asserts that none of the daughters of this "Mother of churches" follow her example, not even the "*Romani Palatii basilica*," by which he means the chapel within the Lateran palace.

But this is in flat contradiction to the whole tenor of the antiphonary of S. Peter, which testifies that the basilica of the Vatican was as faithful to the ancient office as that of the Lateran. At all events, at the very least, we have it here recorded that at S. John of the Lateran it was the *antiquum officium* that was observed at that date.[2]

Another proof is furnished by the *Ordines Romani* of the twelfth century, which, in describing the pontifical ceremonial, supply on several occasions a description of the office both at vespers and at the solemn nocturns and lauds, just as much as of the Mass itself. And this description accords with an *Ordo* of the office substantially the same as the *Ordo* of the eighth century. As witnesses to this fact we may take two well-known *Ordines Romani* of the twelfth century.[3] One is that of Canon Benedict, a canon of the basilica of S. Peter, and "*Romanae Ecclesiae Cantor*"; it was written shortly before 1143, and is the *Ordo Romanus* XI. of Mabillon: the other, Mabillon's *Ordo Romanus* XII., has for its author Cencius, the

[1] The same observation was made by Cardinal Tomasi (t. IV. p. xxxij): "Illa propemodum omnia, eoque fere ordine digesta, in eo reperiuntur, quae de Romano antiphonario tradidit Amalarius, unde cuique constare potest nostri antiphonarii ritus, saeculo XII Romae usurpatos, ab illis non distare qui in moribus Romanorum erant saeculo IX." Cardinal Tomasi would not assert, any more than I should, that the office presented in this antiphonary of S. Peter is one which has remained without any variation whatever from the eighth century, but such variations as occur are confined to matters of detail: the main lines remain unchanged.

[2] Abaelardus, *Epist.* x.: "Antiquam certe Romanae Sedis consuetudinem nec ipsa civitas [Roma] tenet, sed sola ecclesia Lateranensis, quae mater est omnium, antiquum tenet officium, nulla filiarum suarum in hoc eam sequente, nec ipsa etiam Romani Palatii basilica" (*P.L.* CLXXVIII. 340).

[3] Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* t. II. p. 118 *et seq.* The *Ordo* of Canon Benedict is also reproduced in *P.L.* CLXXIX. 731-62.

same man who, as Chancellor of the Roman Church, edited in 1192 the *Liber Censuum*. Thus we have, on the whole, in these two *Ordines*, the consuetudinary of pontifical ceremonies of the time of Innocent II (*d.* 1143) and Innocent III (1198-1216). And this ceremonial is in accordance with the ancient office as described in the preceding chapter, and not with the modern office which we are about to describe. This point needs insisting on. The following digression—if it is a digression—has abundant bearing on our subject. Let us see what was, in the twelfth century, the ceremonial of the offices in which the Pope and the *Curia* took part.

The Pope and the *Curia*—the latter now occupying the place of the district clergy of former times—did not take part, as a body, in the *daily* public office at any basilica, but only in the solemn office on certain festivals, in certain particular churches. For these festivals the old name of "Stations" was retained; and two kinds of stations were distinguished, the diurnal, which included nothing more than the Mass of the station, and the nocturnal or greater stations, which comprised vespers on the preceding evening, the nocturnal office in the middle of the night, and the solemn Mass in the morning.[1] These nocturnal stations were very few in number, and were peculiar to the greatest festivals, such as the third Sunday in Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, Ascension, Pentecost, the Nativity of S. John Baptist, the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, the Assumption, and the feast of S. Andrew. But on these vigils all the pomp of the pontifical ceremonial was displayed.

The Pope sets out from his palace of the Lateran, the *Patriarchium*, robed in a white chasuble, having on his head the crowned tiara or *regnum*, and mounted on a horse with scarlet trappings. At the head of the procession walks a subdeacon carrying the pontifical cross. Then come twelve clerks carrying banners, followed by the foreign bishops who happen to be in Rome. Then the abbots of the monasteries of Rome, and the cardinals, whether priests or bishops. After these, the

[1] At Rome, in the twelfth century, there is as yet no question of second vespers. A passage often quoted from Pope Alexander III (1159-1181) is not really opposed to this assertion: "Licet scriptum sit *De vespere in vesperam celebrabitis sabbata vestra*, festorum tamen principium et finis juxta eorum qualitatem, et juxta diversarum regionum consuetudinem debet attendi". Friedberg, t. II. p. 271. This passage, in fact, implies that the custom of having second vespers was not universal, and does not prove that Rome had at that time adopted them. We shall find the Minorites, in the thirteenth century, making them the established custom.

scrinarii (papal secretaries), and the *advocati* (legal officials), the sub-deacons of the districts and those of the basilicas, and the *Scola cantorum*. Lastly, two and two, forming a single file on each side of the Pope, the cardinal deacons. The Prefect of Rome, robed in a rich mantle, and with him the judges in their copes, close the procession. The *majorentes* (knights of the Papal Court), wearing silk mantles, and bearing wands, keep order in the streets.[1]

In this order the Papal cortège advances towards the basilica where the station is to be celebrated. On its threshold the canons—they have taken the place of the basilican monks of the eighth century—await the arrival of the Pope. As soon as he has come to the entrance of the church he descends from his horse, and lays aside the tiara. The canons present to him the holy water and the incense. The Pontiff puts incense into the censer, and sprinkles holy water on the multitude. Then they enter processionally into the basilica, and, after a short prayer, pass on into the *secretarium* or sacristy. There, when the clergy of all orders have put on their vestments, the Pope gives the kiss of peace to the two bishops who are to assist him during the office, then to the cardinals, the Prefect of Rome, and the other "lay princes". The dean of the district sub-deacons calls over the list of the various readers and chanters who are to take part in the execution of the office. Then the Pope rises, and taking his place in the procession between the two assistant bishops, he re-enters the basilica, wearing his mitre. The *cubicularii* (chamberlains), holding over his head a canopy (mappula), accompany him as far as the altar. He takes his seat on the central throne of the *presbyterium*, and the office begins—the office of vespers.[2]

When vespers are over, the Pope does not return to the *Patriarchium* of the Lateran—I am supposing the station to be at S. Peter's. Among the buildings attached to that basilica there were apartments for the Pope, constructed by Gregory IV (827-44), for the express purpose of providing a place for the Sovereign Pontiff to retire to and rest, in the intervals between these solemn offices.[3] The other members of the *Curia* are lodged *in domo Aguliae*—"the house by the obelisk"—and the master of this hospice (*dominus hospitii*) is charged to provide for them "beds with good sheets," to serve them at table, and to take care of their horses in his stables.[4]

[1] Cencius, 7; Benedict, 21.
[2] Benedict, 46, 47.
[3] *L.P.* t. II. p. 81.
[4] Benedict, 7.

In the middle of the night the bell tolls, and everyone gets up. The Pope and the *Curia* assemble in the *secretarium*, which at S. Peter's was a large chapel at the south-west corner of the atrium. There they all vest, and the procession is marshalled. A censer is handed to the Pope, and four torch-bearers take their places before him. Then the procession starts in silence, by the light of candles. Having passed through the porch of the basilica in procession and entered the church, they come before the altar of S. Gregory, which the Pope censes. This is the first station of the procession, in the side aisle on the left. The second is made before the altar of SS. Simon and Jude, at the bottom of the nave: here is reserved the Blessed Sacrament, which is censed by the Pope. The third station is before the altar of S. Veronica, in the side aisle on the right: here the Pope censes the holy winding sheet and lance of our Lord's Passion. Then, going up the nave, the procession comes to the "triumphal arch," at the entrance to the sanctuary, and the fourth station is made before the altar of S. Pastor, which in its turn is censed by the Pope. Thus, from altar to altar, they come at last to the "Confession" of S. Peter, and go down the steps which lead to it. The Pope censes the altar set up over the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles; then he takes his seat, the four processional lights being set down before him.

And now, before the Confession of S. Peter, begins the first vigil—that first vigil which we have already pointed out as being, in the eighth century, a survival of the original distinction between the office for saints' days and the ferial office, and of which the mere memory was preserved in the Frankish liturgy in the term "double office". There is no invitatory at this first vigil: the chief chanter, with the *Scola cantorum*, begins the office absolutely with the antiphon of the first psalm of the first nocturn. There are three nocturns, each of three psalms and three lessons. The canons of the basilica chant the lessons, and at the end of each it is the archdeacon who pronounces the *Tu autem Domine.* The *Scola cantorum* sings the responds. After the respond which follows the third lesson of the third nocturn comes the *Te Deum*, and as soon as ever it is finished a district subdeacon brings a sacramentary, and one of the two assistant bishops holds it open before the Pope, who reads from it the collect for the day. Then the archdeacon says *Benedicamus Domino* and the Apostolic Father blesses the congregation. So ends the first vigil.[1]

[1] Benedict, 8.

Then the procession sets off afresh: the Pontiff, leaving the "Confession," proceeds to the high altar of the basilica, and censes it. Then he sits down before the altar-rails, with the cardinal deacons on either side of him, while the other cardinals, both bishops and priests, take their places with the canons in the stalls of the choir or *presbyterium*. The four lights stand before the Pope, who himself intones the *Domine labia mea aperies*. Then the *Scola cantorum* at once begins the invitatory, which is followed by the three psalms of the first nocturn, with their antiphons. The canons of the basilica chant the lessons and sing the responds of this first nocturn. At the other two nocturns the lessons are chanted as follows: the fourth by one of the *scrinarii*, the fifth by the senior of the cardinal bishops, the sixth by the senior of the cardinal priests, the seventh by the senior of the cardinal deacons, the eighth by the senior subdeacon, the ninth by the Pope himself. Two lights stand upon the lectern. Each reader, in his turn, says *Jube Domine benedicere*, and the Pope blesses him. At the ninth lesson, the Pope says *Jube Domine benedicere*, but no one blesses him, "unless it be the Holy Ghost," and those present, after a short pause, say *Amen*. After the ninth lesson, the *Te Deum* is sung by the *Scola*, and forthwith lauds, the psalms and antiphons being sung by the *Scola*. Then the versicle and response, the *Benedictus* and its antiphon. This being finished, the assistant bishop opens the sacramentary before the Pope, who says the collect from it, and the office ends as before.[1] And after this, says Cencius, "*Dominus Papa intrat lectum*," and all the *Curia* do the same, so as to be ready to come in, early in the morning, to celebrate the solemn Mass.

Such is the ceremonial of a *statio nocturnalis*, such as would be celebrated, for instance, on the feast of S. Peter. These long and solemn vigils are not performed without plenty of light. Two hundred and fifty lamps are lit in the basilica. The people attend in crowds on certain festivals, the seneschal of the Apostolic Palace had to throw handfuls of coin on the dense ranks of the crowd in order to disperse them, and open up an easier passage for the Pope and his attendants.[2]

Resuming the thread of our argument, we repeat that this ceremonial of the twelfth century belongs to an office which, in its main lines is the same with that of the eighth century, the same as regards the number of psalms, lessons and responds, the same as regards the rubrics for the beginning and the close

[1] Benedict, 9. [2] Cencius, 37; Benedict, 74, 76.

of the service, and, above all, the same as regards the absence of elements which we shall see were characteristic of the modern office. Are we not then entitled to infer the identity of the basilican office of the time of Amalarius, and the pontifical office of the time of Cencius and Canon Benedict?

But to this identity a grave objection has been made.

Liturgical writers—and their opinion on this point was embraced by Pope Pius V[1]—agree in attributing to Gregory VII a reform of the Roman Office. Here is the account which Dom Guéranger gives of this supposed reform: "The press of important business by which a Pope in the eleventh century was besieged, the infinitely numerous details of administration into which he had to enter, made it impossible to reconcile with duties so vast and so anxious a constant attendance at the long offices which had been in use during the preceding centuries," and therefore Gregory VII "abridged the offices of the canonical hours of prayer, and simplified the liturgy for the use of the Roman *Curia*."[2]

But we shall not find that this theory deserves much consideration. Was it then only in the eleventh century that Popes began to be besieged by a press of business, and had to enter into an infinite number of details of administration? Dom Guéranger would be the last man in the world to have us think so. It is, besides, quite certain that, in the time of the immediate predecessors of Gregory VII, the Pope and the *Curia*, faithful to the obligation of reciting the Divine Office, without neglecting the duties imposed upon them by their station, acquitted themselves of that obligation by the private recitation of the office. S. Leo IX (1048-54) is praised, in his Life, for having every day fulfilled the obligation of reciting the entire "Psalter"—as it was wont to be called—meaning thereby the diurnal and nocturnal office; and for having recited it at its proper hours, including the night office; for reciting it in his oratory in company with a single clerk; and for never omitting it.[3] Here we see how a Pope of the eleventh century, besieged as much as any other with a press of important business, reconciled easily the duties of so busy a life, I do not say with daily attendance at the long offices of the basilicas (a thing which it had never been the custom of the Pope to undertake,

[1] In the Bull "*Quod a nobis*" (1568) wherein is promulgated the publication of the reformed Roman breviary.

[2] Guéranger, *Instit. liturg.* t. I. p. 281.

[3] Wibert, *Vita S. Leonis*, 12 and 13 (*P.L.* CXLIII. 501, 502).

even in the preceding centuries), but with the punctual recitation of the Divine Office in private.[1]

In the second place it is peculiarly improbable that Gregory VII, of all men, should be the one to interfere with the old Roman *Ordo* of the office. At the very moment when this same Pope is busy in introducing into Spain nothing more nor less than this ancient Roman Office; at the moment when he is congratulating the kings of Aragon and Castile on the zeal shown by them in establishing in their realms the office according to the Roman order—"*Romani ordinis officium*"—and that, too, after the ancient use—"*ex antiquo more*,"[2] are we to think of him as himself abridging and simplifying the liturgy for the use of the Roman *Curia?*

But, to pass on from these preliminary considerations, the point is to ascertain precisely what this reform of Gregory VII was: here Dom Guéranger cites as his witness the *Micrologus*, which, so he assures us, "gives us to understand that it is upon the office as authorized by Gregory VII that its comments are founded".

Now the *Micrologus* is a very precious liturgical commentary on the Roman *Ordo* both of the Mass and the Divine Office. It was long attributed to Ivo of Chartres; but Dom Morin has proved that it is the work, not of a Frenchman, but of a German, Bernold of Constance (*d.* 1100), monk of the abbey of S. Blastian.[3] The question is, on what text did Bernold found his comments? I find him quoting from various MS. antiphonaries—"*omnes authentici antiphonarii . . . antiqui antiphonarii*". I find him settling points "*juxta Romanam consuetudinem, . . . juxta traditionem S. Romanae Ecclesiae, . . . Romano more*". He certainly calls both the sacramentary and the antiphonary to which he refers *Gregorian.* In one place he uses the expression "*officium Gregorianum*". But it is to *S. Gregory the Great* that all this Gregorian literature

[1] Mabillon's *Ordo Romanus*, x. (*Mus. Ital.* t. II. pp. 97 *et seq.*), a document of the end of the tenth century, describes the ceremonies in which the Pope takes part during the last three days of Holy Week. I extract the following rubrics: "Antequam Dominus Papa exeat de camera, dicit Tertiam. . . . Intrat ecclesiam S. Thomae, et dicit cum capellanis suis Nonam. . . . Dominus Papa cum clero intrat secretarium, et abstracta planeta cum pallio, sedeat in sede sua, et lotis pedibus ministri calcient eum quotidiana calciamenta; veniens ad faldistorium dicit Nonam: deinde rediens ad sedem exuat se, et cum clericis suis dicat vesperas praeteriti diei non cantando sed recitando."

[2] On the 19th and 20th of March, 1074 (Jaffé, 4840, 4841).

[3] Dom Morin, "Que l'auteur du Micrologus est Bernold de Constance," *Revue Bénédictine*, 1891, pp. 385 *et seq.* The text of the *Micrologus* is reproduced in *P.L.* CLI. 977-1022.

of his has relation: "*S. Gregorius Papa, . . . Beatus Gregorius Papa, . . . S. Gregorius Papa primus*". Whenever he means Gregory VII, Bernold mentions him in such a way as to distinguish him quite clearly from Gregory I: "*Gregorius Papa septimus, . . . Gregorius hujus nominis Papa septimus, . . . reverendae memoriae Gregorius Papa*" and he never gives him the title of "saint". So it is not to Gregory VII, but to S. Gregory I, that Bernold, when treating of the *Ordo* of the canonical office, attributes its disposition. Thus he writes: "*Sciendum est quod S. Gregorius ita ecclesiastica officia ordinavit*".[1] And he attributes to his own contemporary Gregory VII no more than the two decrees here following, as to which any one can see how far they affect the general character of the Roman canonical office.

Gregorius, hujus nominis Papa septimus Apostolicae Sedi praesidens, constituit ut sanctorum omnium Romanorum Pontificum et Martyrum festivitates solemniter ubique cum pleno officio celebrentur.[2]

Gregorius Papa in Apostolica Sede constitutus . . . promulgavit:—

"A die," inquit, "Resurrectionis usque ad Sabbatum in Albis, et a die Pentecostes usque in sabbatum ejusdem hebdomadae, tres psalmos ad nocturnas tresque lectiones antiquo more cantamus et legimus. Omnibus aliis diebus per totum annum, si festivitas est, novem psalmos et novem lectiones et responsoria dicimus; aliis autem diebus duodecim psalmos et tres lectiones recitamus; in diebus dominicis octodecim psalmos, excepto die Paschae et die Pentecostes, et novem lectiones dicimus. Hoc etiam usquequaque juxta Romanum ordinem ita fieri statuimus, ut supra notavimus. In Octava Paschae historiam *Dignus es Domine* et Apocalypsim juxta ordinem incipimus.[3]

In the first of the above decrees—which perhaps belongs to the Roman synod of 1078—Gregory VII extends to all Christendom the obligation of observing the festivals of martyr Popes. It is one act in his great struggle for the supremacy of the Holy See, and has no bearing on the question of the Roman office properly so-called.

In the second decree—probably belonging to the Roman

[1] *Micrologus*, 61 and 50. [2] *ibid.* 43.

[3] *ibid.* 54. Dom Morin, "Règlements inédits du Pape S. Grégoire VII pour les Chanoines Réguliers," *Revue Bénédictine*, 1901, pp. 177-83, has discovered in a contemporary MS. (*Vatican, Lat.* 629) the document from which this second decree is extracted. After the words *et novem lectiones dicimus* (near the end) comes the following: "Illi autem qui in diebus cotidianis tres psalmos et tres lectiones videntur agere, non ex regula SS. Patrum, sed ex fastidio et neglegentia comprobantur facere. Romani autem diverso modo agere coeperunt, maxime a tempore quo Teutonicis concessum est regimen nostrae Ecclesiae. Nos autem, et ordinem Romanum et antiquum morem investigantes, statuimus fieri nostrae Ecclesiae sicut superius praenotavimus, antiquos imitantes patres." We shall meet with this passage again, in Gratian.

synod of 1074—Gregory VII rules that on Easter Day and the six week days ensuing, as also on the Day of Pentecost, and the six week days of its octave, the nocturnal office shall have but three psalms, three lessons, and three responds; while, for the rest of the year, the nocturnal office for festivals shall have nine psalms, nine lessons, and nine responds, the ferial office twelve psalms, three lessons, and three responds, and the Sunday office eighteen psalms, nine lessons and nine responds. But this *Ordo* of the office is precisely that which we have seen in full vigour at Rome in the time of Amalarius, at the beginning of the ninth century:[1] and Gregory VII, in enacting these rules, himself tells us that he is thereby making no innovation—"*antiquo more cantamus et legimus*, he writes: "such is the ancient Roman custom and we make no change therein". "We ordain that it be none otherwise done, but that the *Ordo Romanus* be adhered to, which has not ceased to be the canon of our customs, and which is for us, as we love to repeat, the *antiquus mos*." Are these expressions those of a reforming and innovating Pope? Are they not rather such as would be used by one who condemned any attempt to modify the ancient use?

And, as a matter of fact, the text of these decrees as cited by Bernold is only an imperfect one, while we find them given in full by Gratian.[2] And then we see that in the time of Pope Gregory VII some clergy found the brevity of the nocturnal office of Easter week and Whitsun week a temptation. Only think—three psalms and three lessons! And so they were introducing the custom of abbreviating after this pattern the daily ferial office, and the office of saints' days as well.[3]

[1] With the single exception of the office for Pentecost and its octave, which was at Rome in the ninth century, in the time of Amalarius, an office of nine lessons.

[2] *De consecr.* v. 15; Friedberg, t. i. p. 1416.

[3] That the saints' day office was shortened in conformity to that of Easter week, S. Peter Damian (*d.* 1072) is a witness. Writing just before the pontificate of Gregory VII (1073-85), he relates in one of his *Opuscula* a vision vouchsafed to a certain clerk of the basilica of S. Peter, who one night saw the Prince of the Apostles officiate in his own basilica:—

"B. Petrus Apostolus ad ecclesiam suam venit, cui protinus omnium successorum suorum pontificum videlicet Romanorum chorus infulatus ac festivus occurrit: ipse quoque B. Petrus, qui eatenus videretur indutus Hebraicis vestibus (sicut in picturis ubique conspicitur), tunc et Phrygium suscepit in capite, et sicut caeteri sacerdotalibus infulis est indutus in corpore. Tunc

"Blessed Peter the Apostle came to his church, and forthwith the company of all his successors in the Roman pontificate met him, robed in festal vestments. Then S. Peter himself also, who had previously appeared in Hebrew attire, as he is always represented in pictures, put the tiara on his head, and assumed priestly robes like the rest. Then all, with resounding tones

Of such a practice Gregory VII speaks thus:—

Illi autem, qui in diebus cottidianis tres tantummodo psalmos et tres lectiones celebrare volunt, non ex regula SS. Patrum sed ex fastidio comprobantur hoc facere. *Romani vero diverso modo agere coeperunt, maxime a tempore quo Teutonicis concessum est regimen nostrae Ecclesiae.*[1] Nos autem, etc.

In other words, he makes no account of the reasons which some of the clergy might have for retrenching the length of the office or simplifying its arrangement. In all this he only sees a sign of laxity, and he refuses to deal with it either by tolerating the custom which was beginning to be introduced, or by himself inaugurating some authoritative reform in the same sense. And he concludes by saying:—

Nos autem, et ordinem Romanum investigantes et antiquum morem nostrae Ecclesiae, imitantes antiquos patres, statuimus fieri sicut superius praenotavimus.

The full text therefore as given by Gratian is even stronger than that of Bernold.[2] Gregory VII, as regards the Divine Office, holds fast by the old custom of the Roman Church; he is determined to remain faithful to the ancient Fathers.

We may assert then that neither Bernold of Constance in the *Micrologus*, nor Gregory VII himself in his decrees, say anything of any reform of the traditional office having been made at Rome in the course of the eleventh century. On the contrary, they bear witness to the tenacity with which, at Rome itself, the ancient *Ordo Romanus* of the office was maintained,

responsorium illud quod dicitur *Tu es pastor ovium* melodiis atque mellifluis coeperunt intonare clamoribus, sicque illum usque ad sacerdotalis chori consistorium deduxerunt. Quo perveniens ipse Apostolorum princeps nocturnum est exorsus officium dicens *Domine labia mea aperies:* deinde tres psalmos totidemque lectiones ac responsoria quae in Apostolorum natalitiis recensentur canonico more persolvit. Omnibus itaque per ordinem rite decursis, matutinis quoque laudibus consequenter expletis, ejusdem ecclesiae tintinabulum sonuit, et continuo presbyter qui haec videbat evigilans somnium terminavit." *Opuscul.* XXXIV. p. ii. n. 4.

of surpassing sweetness, began to chant the respond "Thou art the Shepherd of the sheep," and so conducted their chief to the throne of the presbytery. And having arrived there, the Prince of the Apostles himself began the nocturnal office, saying, "O Lord, Thou shalt open my lips," and so in due order followed the *three psalms, three lessons, and three responds, which are wont to be said on the feasts of Apostles.* And when all had been duly gone through, and lauds also in their turn were finished, the church bell rang, and immediately the priest who witnessed these things awoke, and his vision was at an end."

[1] The words in italics are not in Friedberg's critical text, nor in the various readings given in his *Apparatus Criticus*, but they are found in the Roman edition of Gratian (1582).

[2] As we have seen, this text of Gratian is confirmed by the hitherto unpublished regulations discovered by Dom Morin (p. 128, note).

that *Ordo* which we have seen established there from the end of the eighth century, and which we have found still in full use far on in the twelfth, both in the daily service of S. John Lateran and S. Peter's, and in the pontifical ceremonial.

II.

We saw that the expression *modernum officium* was employed by Gregory IX in the thirteenth century. A century earlier we meet with an equivalent expression in the letter of Abélard already quoted, where we find him distinguishing between the *antiquum officium*—the term by which he very justly describes the office used in his time at S. John Lateran—and another use, observed both by clerks and monks, a use already of long standing and still in vogue—"*consuetudo tam clericorum quam monachorum, longe ante habita, et nunc quoque permanens*".

For anyone who is familiar with the terminology of canon law, these expressions of Abélard's amount to saying that there is an ancient canon of the office, and that there is also a use, which has been introduced since the promulgation of that canon, which is already of long standing, which is general, and which is in full vigour. Yet let us not suppose that this use had anything like the *unity* of the *antiquum officium:* Abélard tells us immediately after that the greatest diversity existed, even among the customs used by clerks, not to speak of those of the monks—"*In divinis officiis . . . diversas et innumeras Ecclesiae consuetudines inter ipsos etiam clericos*".[1] Here then we have a definition of the modern office in the twelfth century as compared with the ancient Roman Office.

Let us attempt to make out the general characteristics of this office—modern, and not Roman.

We possess a little liturgical treatise of the twelfth century which is for this modern office what the writings of Amalarius and Bernold are for the ancient and purely Roman Office. It is the *Rationale* of John Beleth. As to the author, we cannot tell whether he was of Normandy, Poitou, Paris, or Amiens. The very dates of his life are open to doubt, and we only know two things for certain about him: first, that he wrote his book at Paris—"*apud nostram Lutetiam*"—as he says; and secondly that he was, as again he himself tells us, a contemporary of the Blessed Elizabeth of Schönau, who died in 1165.[2] The

[1] Abélard, *Epist.* x.

[2] *Hist. litt. de la France*, t. XIV. pp. 218-22. The text of the *Rationale* as printed from the sixteenth century onward, and reproduced in *P.L.* CCII. 13-166,

Rationale must have been written between 1161 and 1165. It is a book full of learning and written in a graceful style. It describes the office as used at Paris about the middle of the twelfth century. This gives the author occasion to inform us that the clergy of his time were far from being as faithfully observant of that office as duty would demand. No doubt they did not go so far as to imitate those prelates and clergy of the ninth century, spoken of in the *Benedictio Dei*,[1] who sat up at night drinking till cockcrow, and then got through the nocturnal office, God only knows how, before going to bed, while the diurnal office they despatched in the morning while they were dressing! Nor were they guilty of the fault against which S. Peter Damian warns the clergy of the eleventh century, who were tempted to recite the entire office for the day at one time, in the morning, so as to be free to go about their secular business.[2] But the lukewarmness of John Beleth's contemporaries was no less grievous to his devout heart. "Alas!" he writes, "the very purpose and object of the Divine service is now so completely lost sight of that scholars rise earlier than the ministers of the Church, and the sparrows begin to sing before the priests, so chilled in the hearts of men is the love of God." And in another passage—"How many among us are found to rise joyfully with the sun to say the Divine service? In this respect, we of to-day are like Penelope's suitors, *nati in medios dormire dies!* And why do I speak of the *nocturnal* office? How many are there who conscientiously recite in due course the office *of the day?* Few indeed, and very few, if the real truth be told!"[3]

The modern office, then, to begin with, as its very first characteristic, had to accommodate itself to the laziness of the clergy by abbreviation. In the eleventh century, as we have seen, there was an attempt made to cut down the ferial office of the season and the office for saints' days so as to include but one nocturn of three psalms and three lessons, as was the rule for the octaves of Easter and Pentecost. Such a practice was too manifestly contrary to the whole ecclesiastical tradition to pre-

must be viewed with caution. It is well to compare with the *Rationale* of John Beleth the *De ecclesiasticis officiis* of John of Avranches (*P.L.* CXLVII. 27-62). He died Archbishop of Rouen, 1079. His liturgical treatise is dedicated to his predecessor Maurillus, Archbishop of Rouen (*d.* 1067).

[1] [See also *Magna Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, t. XV. pp. 1029 *et seq.* (Cologne, 1618-22), *P.L.* CXXIX. 1401. "*Commentariolus . . . a monacho, ut videtur, Ratisbonensi*" (Catal. Bodl.).—A. B.]

[2] Petr. Dam. *Opuscul.* XXXIV. 5. [3] Joan. Beleth, *Rationale*, 20.

vail: we have seen in what terms Gregory VII condemned it. But if they could not interfere with the psalter, they might with the lectionary, which was more easily subjected to contraction.

Thus the abbreviation of the office was principally concerned with the lectionary. One has only to compare the homiliaries of the ninth century, as for instance that of Paul the Deacon, with the homiliaries of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, to see the great difference in the length of the lessons for the same festival that has come about in the lapse of two centuries.[1] One of the things aimed at in the reforms made at Cluny in the eleventh century was to re-establish the long lessons which by that time had fallen into desuetude—for instance, to make only six lessons include the whole of the Epistle to the Romans, and to read through Genesis in choir in the course of one week. They protested against the tendency to shorten the lessons; they insisted that even the shortest should last long enough to enable the brother, whose duty it was to go round with a lantern and make sure that no one was asleep, to make the round of the whole choir and the side aisles as well—"*ne fiant ita breves ut ille frater qui circum facit cum absconsa non possit per totum chorum, et extra, circuisse, exploraturus scilicet si quis forte obdormierit inter legendum*". But these long lessons of Cluny were looked upon as singular and exaggerated: the first critical remark supposed to be addressed to Udalric, in his exposition of the customs of Cluny, is—"*Audio lectiones vestras in hieme et in privatis noctibus multum esse prolixas*".[2]

It was natural that the ancient Roman Office, when introduced into France with its own Proper of the season and of saints,[3] should admit new local festivals. Amalarius recognized the fact that such must needs be the case, as do liturgists

[1] Bäumer, t. II. pp. 39-45. [2] Udalric, *Consuetudines Cluniacenses*, I. 1.

[3] We must not forget that the Roman kalendar left a large degree of liberty to particular Churches as regards the *Sanctorale*. This, which was the case in the eighth century, was still so in the eleventh. John of Avranches, speaking of those festivals of saints which "*more Dominicali celebrantur*," i.e. feasts of nine lessons, gives a list of them, quite a short list, which he ends with the words, "*et aliae quae placuerint*" (p. 34, or p. 61 in Migne's edition). On the same point, he says: "Oportet nos festivitates sanctorum discernere qualiter celebrantur, ne sint nobis fastidiosae, si superflue agimus: aut si nimis reticemus, eorum juvamine careamus" (p. 79, Migne, p. 59). At Rome, about the same date, an effort was made to prevent the Sunday office from being supplanted by an office of a saints' day: "Juxta Romanam consuetudinem, in omni Dominica ecclesiastico conventui cum officio Dominicali satisfacimus, nisi aliqua multum celebris festivitas in ipsa die occurrat, ut festum Joannis Baptistae vel S. Petri Apostoli." Bernold, *Micrologus*, 62.

generally, whether regulars or seculars. Thus came in such festivals of local saints as those of S. Maurice, S. Remigius, S. Leger, S. Germain, S. Ouen, S. Boniface, S. Medard, S. Michael *in mari*.[1] They also proceeded, quite contrary to the Roman customs,[2] to assign octaves to those festivals of saints which were elevated to the highest rank—octaves in which all the offices during the eight days were devoted to the saint. Such, from the eleventh century, was the case with the Assumption, All Saints,[3] S. Peter, S. Andrew, S. Michael, S. Martin, the Nativity of S. John Baptist, and the Patron Saint of each Church.[4]

But other festivals were introduced of more general interest, such as the feast of the Holy Trinity, the observance of which was established in the first instance at Liége, under Bishop Stephen (903-20), spread abroad by Cluny, adopted in the twelfth century by most Churches, but for a long time rejected by the Holy See. The following significant remark is attributed to Pope Alexander II (1061-73): on being asked if there ought to be a festival of the Trinity, he replied that he saw no greater reason for it than for having a festival of the Unity.[5]

[1] [Corresponding with his festival *in monte tumbae*, in our Sarum kalendar (Oct. 16).—A. B.]

[2] Bernold, *Microl.* 44: "Juxta Romanam auctoritatem nullorum sanctorum Octavas observare debemus, nisi unde certam aliquam traditionem a SS. Patribus habemus. Eorum quoque *octavas* celebramus; nullam *cotidianam* mentionem per interjacentes dies agimus: quia nullam auctoritatem inde habemus, exceptis de S. Maria et de S. Petro, quorum et alio tempore non cessamus frequentare."

[3] [The festival of All Saints had no octave in England before the Reformation, nor had that of S. Michael.—A. B.]

[4] John of Avranches, *De eccl. off.* p. 80 (Migne, pp. 60, 61).

[5] *Micrologus*, 60: "Quidam officium de Ss. Trinitate in Octava Pentecostes instituunt . . . sed non est authenticum. Nam quidam Leodicensis Stephanus idem officium, sicut et historiam (i.e. the set of responds) de inventione S. Stephani, composuisse asseritur, quae utraque ab Apostolica Sede respuuntur. Unde piae memoriae Alexander Papa de hac re inquisitus, respondit juxta Romanum ordinem nullum diem adscribi debere solemnitati Ss. Trinitatis, sicut nec Ss. Unitatis, praecipue quum in omni Dominica, imo cotidie, utriusque memoria celebretur. . . . Incongruum ergo videtur unam Dominicam cum orationibus Albini [i.e. Alcuin] et cantu Stephani de Ss. Trinitate celebrari". John Beleth records the scruples of Alexander II, but sets them aside: "Solet in Octava Pentecostes cantari et legi de Trinitate, quantumvis Alexander Papa interrogatus an etiam fieri debeat, dixerit se nescire diem peculiarem de Trinitate nec de Unitate." *Rationale*, 62. Durandus of Mende (*d.* 1296) in his *Rationale*, VI. 114 (before 1285), also records the scruples of Alexander II, but remarks that the festival of the Holy Trinity is received *in plerisque locis*. He attributes the responds, antiphons, Mass and sequence of the Trinity to Alcuin, whom he makes a contemporary of Alexander II! There is, as a matter of fact, a Mass *De Ss. Trinitate* in the sacramentary of Alcuin (*P.L.* CI.) but there is no idea of any festival to be observed on a certain date. Martene, *De antiq. eccl. discipl.* p. 545: "In vetustissimo sacramentorum libro monasterii S. Dionysii in Francia ante annos

So, again, the festival of the Transfiguration of our Lord, first heard of in Spain, in the ninth century, and adopted and spread abroad by Cluny: the text of the office being the work of the abbot, Peter the Venerable (*d.* 1157).[1]

Then we have the festivals of the Conception of S. John Baptist (September 24th) and the Conception of Mary (December 8th). Of these two feasts, of Irish origin, and heard of in the ninth or tenth century, the first disappeared, while the second, after a temporary eclipse during the eleventh century, was revived in England by Elsin, Abbot of Ramsey (1080-7), and spread in England through Benedictine influence. It was the subject of much discussion during the first half of the twelfth century, at which time it was propagated in France, and (about 1140) attacked by S. Bernard, on hearing that it had been adopted at Lyons, in a passage that has been much quoted.[2] "Before taking such a step," says S. Bernard to the canons of Lyons, "you should first have consulted the authority of the Apostolic See, and not thus hurriedly and without consideration have followed the lead of a few simple and ignorant people. . . . In this matter and in everything else, I refer myself to the authority and judgment of the Roman Church, being always ready to correct my own opinion in accordance with its decision." The festival was not, for a long time after this, received at Rome.[3]

There is a third characteristic of the "modern office," and one which is most important. John Beleth, faithful as he desires to be to Roman custom, is compelled to allow to the non-

800 exarato (i.e. in the ninth century), in altero Turonensis Ecclesiae ejusdem circiter aetatis, in Carnotensi S. Petri annorum 700 (i.e. eleventh century) Missa integra habetur de Ss. Trinitate, de qua etiam Joannes Abrincensis (John of Avranches) scribit . . . sed et Rupertus (Robert of Tuy, *d.* 1135) in lib. XI. *de divinis officiis*, CI. (*P.L.* CLXX. 293) de hoc festo tamquam ubique recepto loquitur." Martene also cites a passage from Catulfus, *Instructio epistolaris ad Carolum Regem* (Charlemagne), *P.L.* XCVI. 1366, which however seems to me, on the contrary, to imply that the festival had at that time no existence. Catulfus is begging Charlemagne to institute a festival *in honore S. Trinitatis et Unitatis, et angelorum, et omnium sanctorum.*

[1] This festival was unknown to Bernold, and not mentioned by John of Avranches, but accepted by John Beleth, *Rationale*, 144. On the Spanish origin of the feast of the Transfiguration see Bäumer, t. I. p. 428.

[2] S. Bernard, *Epist.* CLXXIV. 9.

[3] On the origin of the festival see H. Thurston, "The Irish Origins of our Lady's Conception Feast," *The Month*, May, 1904. Also E. Vacandard, "Les origines de la fête et du dogme de l'Immaculée Conception," *Revue du clergé Français*, April, 1910. The most ancient passages will be found in H. Thurston and T. Slater, *Eadmeri monachi Cantuariensis Tractatus de conceptione S.M.* (Freiburg, 1904).

Roman use the introduction of metrical hymns into the canonical office. He does it with a bad grace. "At vespers," he says, "when the five psalms have been sung, a short lesson, the *capitulum*, is said, without *Jube Domine* and without *Tu autem:* and after this *capitulum* comes a respond." At Rome, we may remark, in the time of Amalarius and later, the *capitulum* of vespers had no respond. John Beleth continues: "Or, instead of the respond, a versicle and a hymn are said. After which follows the *Magnificat* and its antiphon. But for the most part the *Magnificat*, which is the hymn of the Blessèd Virgin Mary, serves for a hymn, and no other is sung."[1] Thus he testifies (about 1165) that metrical hymns have found their way into the secular canonical office, though this novelty has not acquired the authority of a rule universally observed. John Beleth is ultra-conservative: but Abélard, who belongs to the opposite party, in his letter to S. Bernard, about 1140, gives us clearly to understand that hymns held a much more important position in the office than John Beleth would be willing to assign to them. And when he says "Ecclesia," he means the general custom of seculars as well as of regulars, which he opposes to the singular usages of Clairvaux.[2]

How then was the hymnal of the Church formed, and under what influences did it make its way into the modern office?

In the first chapter of this history we explained how it came to pass that the first attempts at lyric poetry on the part of the Greek-speaking Christians were banished from liturgical use, and that the hymns of Synesius and Gregory Nazianzen never found a place in it. But in the Latin Church Christian lyrical poetry was destined to enjoy a very different fortune.

In 386 S. Ambrose, beholding Milan infested with Arians, rendered more insolent and more dangerous by reason of the presence and the support of the court of Valentinian, put the true doctrine of the Consubstantial into verse for the people to sing. "*Quid enim potentius*," he could reply to his enemies, when they accused him of seducing the people by his verses: "*quid potentius quam confessio Trinitatis quae cotidie totius populi ore*

[1] Joan. Beleth, *Rationale*, 52: ". . . hoc est capitulum, ac deinde responsorium, vel ejus loco versus cum hymnis, et antiphona, ac deinceps *Magnificat*. Plerumque tamen hymnus B. Mariae, videlicet *Magnificat*, loco hymni ponitur, ut praeterea nullus alius canatur".

[2] Abélard, *Epist.* x.: "hymnos solitos respuistis, et quosdam apud nos inauditos, et fere omnibus Ecclesiis incognitos, ac minus sufficientes introduxistis. Unde et per totum annum in vigiliis tam feriarum quam festivitatum uno hymno et eodem contenti estis, quum Ecclesia pro diversitate feriarum vel festivitatum diversis utatur hymnis." *P.L.* CLXXVIII. 339.

celebratur?"[1] Note that there is here no question of a *liturgical hymn*, nor any suggestion that this anti-Arian ode (for we speak, so far, of a single ode, the *Veni Redemptor gentium*) was intended to figure along with the psalmody of David in the programme of the Milanese vigils.

But this Christmas carol, as we may call it, was not the only popular sacred song composed by S. Ambrose. S. Augustine was acquainted with, and quotes from, another such song of his, taking the form of a morning prayer to God, the *Aeterne rerum conditor*. He also mentions a third, the *Deus Creator omnium*, an evening prayer corresponding to the other for the morning. In his "Confessions," written in 397, he relates how on the death of his mother Monica, he found some alleviation of his grief in repeating to himself the beautiful verses of S. Ambrose:—

Deus, Creator omnium,
Polique Rector, vestiens
Diem decoro lumine,
Noctem soporis gratia:

Artus salutis ut quies
Reddat laboris usui,
Mentesque fessas allevet,
Luctusque solvat anxios.[2]

Yet another of these songs of S. Ambrose, also mentioned by S. Augustine, is the *Jam surgit hora tertia*, entirely occupied with the thought of the redeeming death of Jesus Christ. And we see how in these three hymns—leaving out of account the *Veni Redemptor gentium*—S. Ambrose desired to give the people for their own use an abridgement of the offices of prayer used by the clergy and the ascetics. The people would thus pray at cockcrow, at the hour of terce, and at the *lucernarium*, and they would pray in a form of words quite new, and entirely different from that of the liturgy.

To the metrical form adopted by S. Ambrose his name remained attached: hymns in stanzas of four lines of Iambic dimeters took and kept the name of *Ambrosiani*. Pope Gelasius (492-6), when composing hymns, had no idea of doing so except in accordance with this metrical formula—"*fecit et hymnos in similitudine Ambrosii*".[3] These hymns have not come down to us; but a collection might be made of hymns by unknown authors of the fifth and sixth centuries, tradition-

[1] *Sermo contra Auxentium*, 34. [2] S. Aug. *Confess.* IX. 12.
[3] *L.P.* t. I. p. 255.

ally attributed to S. Ambrose, but only his so far as the observance of the same metrical form is concerned. Indeed, by the beginning of the sixth century, they actually were formed into a collection, and this collection of hymns, extensively circulated in Italy, Gaul, and Spain, demanded a place in the *Ordo psallendi*.[1]

Such a place was found for it by S. Benedict. In the nocturns, between the invitatory and the psalms; at lauds, after the respond that followed the *capitulum;* at prime, terce, sext and none, immediately before the psalms; at vespers, as at lauds, after the respond of the *capitulum;* at compline, between the last psalm and the *capitulum*, S. Benedict ordained that a hymn should be sung, to which he gives invariably the title of *Ambrosianus*. He does not further specify what hymns were to be used.[2] But Aurelian, Bishop of Arles (546-51), who drew up, a very few years later, an adaptation of the Benedictine rule for the monasteries of penitents and of virgins in his episcopal city, describes in his turn the *Ordo psallendi* which he enjoins on them; and in this *Ordo* he also includes hymns, the first words of which he is careful to set down by way of title. We find here the *Deus Creator omnium* and the *Jam surgit hora tertia* of S. Ambrose; and also the following anonymous Ambrosian hymns:—

Fulgentis Auctor aetheris.
Jam sexta sensim volvitur.
Ter hora trina volvitur.
Deus qui certis legibus.
Splendor Paternae gloriae.
Aeterne lucis Conditor.
O rex aeterne Domine.
Hic est dies verus Dei.
Magna et mirabilia.

In 567, that is to say fifteen years after the death of Aurelian of Arles, a council held at Tours speaks of the "Ambrosian hymns received into the canon"—that is, one may conjecture, placed after the psalms—and sung at Tours. It is added that there is no need for the Church to limit herself to the Ambrosian hymns only, for, seeing that there are authors of hymns other than S. Ambrose, and that their hymns are sufficiently beautiful to deserve being sung, it is right to re-

[1] U. Chevalier, *Poésie Liturgique* (Tournai, 1894), pp. xiii.-xiv.; C. Blume, *Der Cursus S. Benedicti und die liturgischen Hymnen* (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 32-47.

[2] Cf. C. Blume, *Der Cursus S. Benedicti und die liturg. Hymnem des VI-IX Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1908).

ceive them, on the sole condition that at the head of each hymn the name of its author should be set down.[1]

But the example set by Tours did not fail to meet with determined opposition on the part of many Churches. It is to this innovation that the Council of Braga, in 563, alludes, when it forbids anything "poetical" to be sung in the assembly of the faithful.[2] And this opposition, which invoked the name of liturgical tradition, held its ground in the succeeding century. So we may conclude from the energy with which it is condemned in the Council of Toledo in 633. "We possess," it is there declared, "some hymns composed to the praise of God, the Apostles, and the Martyrs, such as the hymns of the Blessed Doctors, Hilary and Ambrose. And these hymns are rejected by certain persons, on the pretext that nothing ought to be received into the liturgy except the text of the Holy Scriptures only. What do these persons say of the *Gloria Patri?* Or of the *Gloria in excelsis?* And of the lessons read in the office? And of the collects? There is, then, no more ground for condemning the hymns than the prayers, and in this matter Gaul and Spain ought to observe the same custom."—"*plectendi qui hymnos rejicere fuerint ausi*".[3] That is to say, in the seventh century, the hymns had won the day in Gaul and Spain. The same should be said of Ireland, on the testimony of the antiphonary of Bangor, of the same century.[4]

But the Roman Church held fast by the discipline enunciated by the Council of Braga—"*Nihil poetice compositum in ecclesia psallatur, sicut et sancti praecipiunt canones*"[5] And indeed

[1] Mansi, t. IX. p. 803: "Licet hymnos Ambrosianos habeamus in canone, tamen, quoniam reliquorum sunt aliqui qui digni sunt forma cantari, volumus libenter amplecti eos praeterea, quorum auctorum nomina fuerint in limine praenotata". A. Steier, *Untersuchungen über die Echtheit der Hymnen des Ambrosius* (Leipzig, 1908), claims for S. Ambrose himself the hymn *Splendor Paternae gloriae.*

[2] *ibid.*, 778: "Placuit ut extra psalmos vel canonicarum scripturarum Novi et Veteris Testamenti, nihil poetice compositum in ecclesia psallatur, sicut et sancti praecipiunt canones".

[3] *ibid.*, 623.

[4] *P.L.* LXXII. 579-606. The MS. belongs to the Ambrosian library at Milan: see F. E. Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor* (London, 1893).

[5] There was the same rigour at Lyons: "Reverenda concilia patrum decernunt nequaquam plebeios psalmos in ecclesia decantandos, et nihil poetice compositum in divinis laudibus usurpandum"—is the report made to his clergy by Archbishop Agobard of Lyons, in the ninth century, in his *De divina psalmodia* (*P.L.* CIV. 327); see also his *De correctione antiphonarii* (*ibid.* 329 *et seq.*) in which he expresses himself so strongly against the introduction into the office of responds or antiphons the words of which are not taken from the Sacred Books: "Antiphonarium habeamus omnibus humanis figmentis et mendaciis expurgatum, et per totum anni circulum ex purissimis S. Scripturae verbis sufficientissime ordi-

on this point the Roman Church stood firm until the end of the twelfth century: Canon Benedict and Cencius make no more mention of hymns in the Roman Office than do Amalarius and the *Micrologus*. It is true the antiphonary of S. Peter's, in the twelfth century, indicates the *Te lucis ante terminum* as being sung at compline, and also the *Nunc Sancte nobis Spiritus* as belonging to terce. But, at all events as regards the latter, the rubric is decisive—"*In choro hunc hymnum non dicimus, sed in aliis oratoriis decantamus*" [1] This antiphonary has no other mention of hymns.

In the meantime the *monastic* hymnal had become developed and settled.[2] In the eleventh century it included an invariable hymn for each of the lesser hours: the *Jam lucis orto sidere* at prime; *Nunc Sancte nobis Spiritus* at terce; *Rector potens, verax Deus* at sext; *Rerum Deus tenax vigor* at none; and either *Te lucis ante terminum*, or *Christus qui Lux es et Dies* at compline: all of them anonymous Ambrosian hymns, not later than the sixth century. Similar Ambrosians constitute the hymnal for the ferias:—

Monday.	Somno refectus artubus. (Noct.)
	Splendor Paternae gloriae. (Laud.)
	Immense caeli Conditor. (Vesp.)
Tuesday.	Consors Paterni luminis. (Noct.)
	Ales diei nuntius [Prudentius]. (Laud.)
	Telluris ingens Conditor. (Vesp.)
Wednesday.	Rerum Creator optime. (Noct.)
	Nox et tenebrae et nubila [Prudentius]. (Laud.)
	Caeli Deus sanctissime. (Vesp.)
Thursday.	Nox atra rerum contegit. (Noct.)
	Lux ecce surgit aurea. (Laud.)
	Magnae Deus potentiae. (Vesp.)
Friday.	Tu Trinitatis unitas. (Noct.)
	Aeterna caeli gloria. (Laud).
	Plasmator hominum Deus. (Vesp.)

natum" (chap. XIX. p. 338). Bäumer, t. I. p. 369, says—"Il est étrange—[but, surely, not so!]—que, dans les statuts des évêques Hayton de Bâle (*d.* 836) et Riculf de Soissons (*d.* 902), où les livres liturgiques sont énumérés, il ne soit fait aucune mention d'hymnaire".

[1] Tomasi, t. IV. p. 168.

[2] I may refer to the MS. Cassinensian breviary in the Mazarin library, of which more will be said further on. The researches of Father Blume have resulted in some remarkable information being afforded on this subject. He shows that the hymnal which we are here describing, and which has kept its place in the Roman breviary, is a collection of hymns formed by the Irish and Anglo-Saxon Churches, which was substituted for the more ancient collection. The latter we may identify with that in the *Cursus* of S. Benedict. This substitution would date back to the ninth century. Blume, *op. cit.* pp. 101-6. Cf. Dom Berliere, "Les hymnes dans le *Cursus* de Saint Benoit," *Revue Bénédictine*, 1908, pp. 367-74.

Saturday.	Summae Deus clementiae. (Noct.)
	Aurora jam spargit polum. (Laud.)
	O Lux beata Trinitas. (Vesp.)
Sunday.	Primo dierum omnium. (Noct.)
	Aeterne rerum Conditor. (Laud.)
	Lucis Creator optime. (Vesp.)

The hymns for the Proper of the season were taken from the same collection of *Ambrosiani*:—

Advent.	Conditor alme siderum. (Vesp.)
	Verbum supernum prodiens. (Noct.)
	Vox clara ecce intonat. (Laud.)
Christmas.	Veni, Redemptor gentium. (Vesp.)
	Christe, Redemptor omnium. (Noct.)
	A solis ortus cardine [Sedulius]. (Laud.)
Epiphany.	Jesus refulsit omnium. (Vesp.)
	Hostis Herodes impie [Sedulius]. (Noct.)
	Illuminans altissimus. (Laud.)
Lent.	Audi, benigne Conditor. (Vesp.)
	Ex more docti mystico. (Noct.)
	Jam Christe, Sol justitiae. (Laud.)
Easter.	Ad coenam Agni providi. (Vesp.)
	Hic est dies verus Dei. (Noct.)
	Aurora lucis rutilat. (Laud.)
Ascension.[1]	Optatus votis omnium. (Noct.)
	Jam Christus ascendit polum. (Laud.)

I will not dwell on the hymnal for the Proper of saints, which in all hymnals is the most variable part, beyond remarking that here also the greater part of the hymns are "Ambrosian" in metre:—

Stephano, primo martyri.
Amore Christi nobilis.
Agnes, beatae virginis.
Apostolorum passio.
Apostolorum supparens.
Martine, confessor Dei.
Post Petrum primum principem.
Ad Christi laudem virginis, etc.

The Ambrosian hymns quoted above form as it were the kernel of the hymnal. We recognize among them the authentic hymns of S. Ambrose: following these come a group of hymns written in accordance with his prosodic formula, following with exactness the rules of the Iambic metre, of quantity, and of elision. After these, again, we see appear in great numbers what may be called rhythmic hymns, which preserve nothing more of the Iambic dimeter stanza than the number

[1] The Vesper Ascension hymn, *Festum nunc celebre*, is not in the "Ambrosian" metre, but in the Asclepiad stanza. Notice of it will be found further on.

of lines and of syllables, quantity and elision being disregarded, "*ut sunt carmina vulgarium poetarum*," says Bede.[1] But while showing themselves faithful to the Ambrosian type— the same that S. Benedict had aimed at including in the *Ordo psallendi* of his monks—men of learning in the eighth and ninth centuries also considered that a place might well be found in the hymnal for other compositions, some of them being of more recent date, which would have a more sensibly literary character.

Prudentius had composed a collection of Christian lyric poems, a sort of lay psalter, the *Cathemerinon*, in which he displayed all the resources of a learned command of metre, and of rhetorical skill. But his virtuosities were not much to the taste of the Church. Even the Sapphic stanza did not find grace in her severe eyes. The hymnal took nothing from Prudentius beyond a few stanzas written in Iambic dimeters, the Ambrosian formula. These are, the *Ales diei nuntius* for Tuesday lauds; the *Nox et tenebrae et nubila* for Wednesday lauds; and finally, from a cold and languid poem on the Epiphany, the stanzas *Salvete flores martyrum*, forming the short but very beautiful hymn for the Holy Innocents.[2]

From Sedulius, the insipid versifier of the *Carmen Paschale*, were borrowed several stanzas of his alphabetical poem on the life and miracles of Christ, to furnish the hymn *A solis ortus cardine* for the lauds of Christmas, and the *Hostis Herodes impie* for the mattins of Epiphany, both of which follow the Ambrosian formula.

To Venantius Fortunatus belong the two hymns for Passion Sunday. The former of them he composed in honour of a relic of the True Cross, given by the Emperor Justinus to S. Rhadegund: it is written in the Ambrosian stanza—*Vexilla Regis prodeunt.* The other, inspired by the same theme, he wrote in a three-line stanza of trochaic tetrameters catalectic, the metre said to have been employed by the Roman soldiers in the songs which they sang on the occasion of a triumph[3]:—

[1] Bede, *De arte metric.* 24. Cf. Walafrid Strabo, *De eccl. rer. exord.* 25 (*P.L.* CXIV. 955): "Sciendum tamen multos putari ab Ambrosio factos, qui nequaquam ab illo sunt editi. Incredibile enim videtur illum tales aliquos fecisse, quales multi inveniuntur, id est qui nullam sensus consequentiam habentes, insolitam Ambrosio in ipsis dictionibus rusticitatem demonstrant."

[2] [Locally, the Western Church made use in the hymnal of two more of Prudentius's poems—both very beautiful and neither of them in the Ambrosian metre —the *Corde natus ex Parentis*, for Christmas, and the *Ades, Pater supreme* for compline in Passion-tide.—A. B.]

[3] [This metre had already been employed by Prudentius in the *Corde natus ex Parentis*.—A. B.]

Pange, lingua, gloriosi praelium certaminis,
Et super Crucis tropaeo dic triumphum nobilem,
Qualiter Redemptor orbis immolatus vicerit.[1]

Finally, the hymnal was invaded by the poets of the Carolingian renaissance, familiar with the metres of the Pagan lyric poetry. Thus Paul the Deacon, though he wrote according to the Ambrosian formula the hymn for the festival of S. Benedict, *Fratres alacri pectore*, was also the author of the famous Sapphic hymn for the Nativity of S. John Baptist:—

Ut queant laxis resonare fibris
Mira gestorum famuli tuorum,
Solve polluti labii reatum,
Sancte Joannes![2]

He is also said to have written—though the fact has been controverted—the Alcaic hymn for the vespers of the Assumption:—

Quis possit amplo famine praepotens
Digne fateri praemia Virginis,
Per quam veternae sub laqueo necis
Orbi retento reddita vita est.

Thus again to Rabanus Maurus, or at all events to his school, was due the hymn for the vespers of the Ascension, in the Asclepiad stanza:—

Festum nunc celebre magnaque gaudia
Compellunt animos carmina promere,
Quum Christus solium scandit ad arduum,
Caelorum pius Arbiter.[3]

To the same Carolingian renaissance are to be attributed the following hymns:—in Sapphics, *Nocte surgentes vigilemus omnes*, and *Ecce jam noctis tenuatur umbra*, which have been

[1] The hymn *Quam terra, pontus, aethera* has been ascribed to Fortunatus, but on insufficient authority. The same must be said of the attribution to him of the *Qua Christus hora sitiit*, and the *Agnoscat omne saeculum*. And, much more decidedly, must it be said of the assigning to him of the *Ave, maris stella*. See Leo, *Venantii Fortunati opera poetica* (Berlin, 1881), pp. 384-6.

[2] John Beleth, *Rationale*, 135:—

"Paulus historiographus, diaconus Romanae Curiae, monachus Cassinensis, cum die quodam Paschalem cereum consecraret, fauces ejus raucae factae sunt, quum prius esset satis vocalis. Ut ergo vox ei restitueretur, in honorem S. Johannis hymnum hunc composuit: *Ut queant laxis*," etc.

"Paul the historian, Deacon of the Roman *Curia*, and monk of Monte Cassino, when one day he had to consecrate the Paschal candle, found his throat afflicted with hoarseness, though previously he had plenty of voice. In order therefore that his voice might be restored to him, he composed in honour of S. John Baptist the hymn *Ut queant laxis*." See S. Luke i. 20 and 64.

[3] Dümmler, *Poetae Latini aevi Karolini* (Berlin, 1880), t. i. pp. 48, 83, 84; t. ii. p. 249.

attributed to S. Gregory; *Quod chorus vatum venerandus olim*, for the Purification of our Lady, and *Christe sanctorum decus angelorum*, for Michaelmas, both assigned to Rabanus Maurus; *Martyris Christi colimus triumphum* (Feast of S. Laurence); *Christe sanctorum decus atque virtus* (Feast of S. Benedict); *Iste Confessor Domini sacratus* (Common of Confessors); and *Virginis proles opifexque Matris* (Common of Virgins). In the Asclepiad stanza, *Gaude visceribus Mater in intimis* (Feast of the Nativity); and *Sanctorum meritis inclyta Gaudia* (Common of Martyrs).

Apart from these carefully polished productions of men of letters, let us give their own place of honour to two admirable hymns, full of rugged force and unstudied beauty. First the dedication hymn, of the seventh century, written in the metre of *Pange lingua*:—

> Urbs beata Jerusalem, dicta pacis visio;
> Quae construitur in caelis vivis ex lapidibus;
> Et angelis coornata ut sponsata comite.

And then the hymn, in Iambic trimeters, attributed to Paulinus of Aquileia (*d.* 802), composed for the feast of the Holy Apostles, Peter and Paul; in which one seems to hear the sighing of the breeze of the whole world's devotion to Rome:—

> O Roma felix, quae tuorum principum
> Es purpurata pretioso sanguine,
> Excellis omnem mundi pulchritudinem.[1]

This hymn is imitated from the *Aurea luce et decore roseo*, also composed for the festival of the same Apostles, and said to have been the work of Elpis, the wife of Boethius.

At the end of the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth, under the influence of the Roman Church, which was opposed to the admission of the hymnal into its liturgy, it seemed as if metrical hymns were going to be altogether proscribed, and banished from ecclesiastical use. But this state of things lasted but for a moment. Already, in the first half of the ninth century, Walafrid Strabo gives us to understand that many churches had again taken up the hymnal, inasmuch as he makes those which did not sing hymns the exception—"*Quamvis in quibusdam Ecclesiis hymni metrici non cantentur*,"

[1] See L. Traube, *O Roma nobilis*, Philol. Untersuchungen (Munich, 1891), pp. 3-13. Compare the sentiment expressed in the *Decretum Gelasii*: "[Petrus et Paulus] pariter supradictam Romanam Ecclesiam Christo Domino consecrarunt, aliisque omnibus in universo mundo urbibus sua praesentia et triumpho praetulerunt." Preuschen, p. 149.

he writes.[1] It is no mere matter of conjecture to recognize in this success of the hymnal a proof of the great influence exercised by the monasteries.[2] In the eleventh century the hymnal had made good its footing pretty well everywhere except at Rome.[3]

The modification of the kalendar, the abbreviation of the lectionary, and the adoption of the monastic hymnal, are the three most salient characteristics of this non-Roman modern office. It remains for us to note some other details which were features of that office, and for which it secured general adoption—viz. the creed *Quicunque vult*, the suffrages which we call Commemorations,[4] the daily office of our Lady, and the daily office of the dead.

A council at Autun, about A.D. 670, is the most ancient canonical witness that we have to the *Quicunque vult*.[5] It decrees:—

[1] Walafrid Strabo, *De rer. eccl. exordiis*, 25 (*P.L.* CXIV. 954): "Notandum hymnos dici non tantum qui metris vel rythmis decurrunt, quales composuerunt Ambrosius, Hilarius, et Beda Anglorum pater, et Prudentius Hispaniarum scolasticus, et alii multi . . . et quamvis, etc.". Walafrid relates that S. Paulinus, Patriarch of Aquileia (*d.* 802) was one of those who desired to bring in hymns wherever possible: "saepius, et maxime in privatis missis . . . hymnos vel ab aliis vel a se compositos celebrasse."

[2] See, as regards the tenth century, Dunstan, *De regim. monach.* 2 (*P.L.* CXXXVII. 485).

[3] At Rome itself, distinctions must be drawn. Grancolas, *Comment.* p 84, says: "Constanter adfirmandum est, XII° saeculo nullos in ecclesia S. Petri recitatos fuisse [hymnos], atque quum Ulricus in Consuetudinibus Cluniacensibus hymnorum Ecclesiae Romanae meminit, de singularium aliarum Ecclesiarum hymnis agere voluisse." In the hitherto unpublished regulations of Gregory VII for the Canons Regular published by Dom Morin, *Revue Bénédictine*, 1901, p. 183, we read: "Ymnos in ecclesia per totum annum, per omnes horas diei et noctis, regularis decantat auctoritas, solis tribus diebus in anno exclusis, hoc est Coena Domini, Parasceuen, et Sabbato Sancto". But the words *regularis auctoritas* show that what is here spoken of is monastic or private custom, and not that of the great basilicas. So Dom Morin, *loc. cit.* The same remark holds good in reply to the passage of the *Consuetudines Clunicacenses*, 52 (about A.D. 1086), brought against us by Chevalier, p. xxiv.

[4] [Also called *Memoriae*, Memories, or Memorials, always comprising an antiphon, versicle and response, and a collect: appended to lauds and vespers, and sometimes to the little hours of the day as well.—A. B.]

[5] Dom Morin, in "Le symbole de S. Athanase et son premier temoin, S. Césaire d'Arles," *Revue Bénédictine*, 1901, pp. 347-63, has shown that S. Caesarius (*circa* 542) is the first who has quoted the *Quicunque vult*. See A. Burn, *An Introduction to the Creeds* (London, 1899). p. 151. On the origin of the *Quicunque vult*, see Tixeront, article on "Athanase (Symbole de S.)," in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie*, by Vacant. [Dom Morin (*Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1911), is now of opinion that the *Quicunque vult* was written by Martin of Braga between 550 and 580, for the benefit of the people of Galicia in the north of Spain, newly converted from Arianism. He points out how probable it is that Martin's work would be rapidly disseminated in Gaul.—A. B.]

Si quis presbyter, aut diaconus, subdiaconus, clericus, symbolum quod sancto inspirante spiritu Apostoli tradiderunt, et fidem S. Athanasii praesulis irreprehensibiliter non recensuerit, ab Episcopo condemnetur.[1]

This ancient Gallican creed, which we find in the earliest psalters of that Church, written at the end of the psalms and canticles—the *Quicunque vult*—was not received into the liturgy at Rome: neither Amalarius nor the *Micrologus* mention it. A creed was indeed recited in the Roman Office at prime, but it was the Apostles' Creed "*credulitas nostra quam SS. Apostoli constituerunt*," as Amalarius says.[2] The *Quicunque vult* was introduced into the liturgy of the Frankish Churches in the ninth century. Hayto, Bishop of Basle (*d.* 836) imposes on his clergy an obligation, not only of knowing it by heart, but of reciting it every Sunday at prime—"*Fides S. Athanasii . . . omni die Dominico ad horam primam recitetur.*"[3] In the following century, Cluny adopted this custom, and even ordained the recitation of the *Quicunque vult* at prime every day "*Textus Fidei a S. Athanasio conscriptus, cujus nonnullae Ecclesiae nec meminerunt nisi in sola Dominica, nullo die obmittatur*".[4]

Secondly, as to the suffrages.

Amalarius never prescribes, either at vespers or lauds, the recitation of a memorial of the Blessed Virgin or of any saint. Nor is there any trace of such a thing in the description of the pontifical ceremonial by the Roman canon Benedict, at the beginning of the twelfth century. On the other hand, the antiphonary of S. Peter's prescribes a memorial of the Cross in Paschaltide, both at vespers and lauds, and so does Canon Benedict: "*In omnibus matutinis laudibus et vespertinis horis fit Commemoratio Passionis Christi et Resurrectionis, antiphona 'Crucem sanctam' et 'Noli flere,' cum versibus et orationibus suis*".[5]

The antiphonary of S. Peter's prescribes other commemorations besides; in the first place a memorial of the Blessed Virgin and of All Saints, then one of the Apostles Peter and Paul: they are set down at the end of vespers and lauds for

[1] Mansi, t. XI. p. 125. Burn, p. 156. [2] Amalar. *De eccl. off.* IV. 2.

[3] Ahyto, *Capitulare*, 4 (*P.L.* CXV. 11). Martene, *De antiq. eccl. discip.* p. 47: "In percelebri S. Martini Turonensis ecclesia, ex communi totius capituli canonicorum consensu, anno 922 statutum fuit 'ut cantarent fratres generaliter ad horam primam, tam festis diebus quam et cotidianis, Catholicam Fidem, quam Athanasius, Spiritu Sancto dictante, composuit: id est, *Quicunque vult salvus esse.*' Cujus institutionis decretum extat in pervetusto ejusdem ecclesiae chartario."

[4] Udalric, *Consuetud. Cluniacen.* I. 2.

[5] Benedict. 55. Cf. Tomasi, t. IV. p. 100.

every day in the year, except from Passion Sunday to Pentecost, and in Christmastide.[1] With the exception of the memorial of the Cross, which may possibly derive its origin from the rubrics for the Roman Paschal vespers, it would appear that the recitation of these common commemorations is a custom of Gallican and monastic origin,[2] only imported into Rome in the course of the eleventh century, the first Roman mention of it being in the *Micrologus*.

Thirdly, as to the daily office of the Blessed Virgin.

The most ancient mention that we have of this office is of the eleventh century, and comes from the Italian abbey of Fonte Avellano, in other words, of the Camaldolites, who were an offshoot of Cluny.[3] On the authority of Cardinal Baronus,[4] the institution of this daily office is generally attributed to S. Peter

[1] Tomasi, t. IV. pp. 22, 27, 30, 52, 100.

[2] Udalric, *Consuet. Clun.* I. 3: "Ad matutinas et vesperas, post suffragia sanctorum. . . . " Abelard. Epist. VIII. (addressed to S. Bernard, in opposition to the innovations at Clairvaux): "Ea quae Suffragia Sanctorum dicuntur, omnino a vobis fieri interdixistis, quasi . . . vos suffragiis sanctorum minus egeatis. Et, quod mirabile est, quum omnia oratoria vestra in memoria Matris Dominicae fundetis, nullam ejus commemorationem, sicut nec caeterorum sanctorum, ibi frequentatis." Gerhard, *Vita S. Udalrici* (Bishop of Augsburg, *d.* 973), 2: "Cursus scilicet cotidianus cum matricularіis in choro ejusdem matriculae (i.e. the cathedral) ab eo caute observabatur . . . Insuper autem, unum cursum in honore S. Mariae Genitricis Dei, et alterum de S. Cruce, tertium de omnibus sanctis, et alios psalmos plurimos . . . omni die explere solitus erat, nisi eum impediret aliqua inevitabilis necessitas." *P.L.* CXXXV. 1016. Fulbert. Carnot. *Epist.* LXIII. *ad Hildegardum* (*P.L.* CXLI. 232): "De vario numero psalmorum qui adjiciuntur a quibusdam in tempore jejunii per singulas horas canonicas in fine, post orationem Dominicam et capitula quae sequuntur (i.e. the *Preces*), regulam non invenio. Psalmi quidem meo arbitratu superflui essent, nisi eos tutaret psalmistarum devotio. Finitis autem capitulis post orationem Dominicam, ubi dicitur *Domine, exaudi orationem meam*, statim esset subdenda oratio, qui ex libro sacramentario recitatur. Patere tamen Ecclesiam retinere suum usum ad praesens."

[3] Mr. Edmund Bishop, in his *Introduction* to the edition of *The Prymer or Lay Folks' Prayer Book* (London, 1897), published by Mr. Littlehales (*Early English Text Society*, original series, 109), produces some mentions of somewhat earlier date. One of these is the mention of a *Cursus in honore S. Mariae* in the passage from the life of S. Ulric, Bishop of Augsburg, quoted above as a mention of common memorials, or suffrages. The date of this is about 970. I should hesitate to identify this *Cursus* with an *officium plenum*. [The Little office of our Lady was certainly called *Cursus B. Mariae* by German Benedictines in the fourteenth century. See my article in *Pax*, December, 1909, "A Fourteenth Century Benedictine Prymer".—A. B.]. Mr. Bishop also quotes an incident from the life of Berengarius, Bishop of Verdun (940-62), and the consuetudinary of Einsiedeln (990-95). But are we dealing there with a *daily* office of the Blessed Virgin? The text only speaks of reciting "tres lectiones"—"de S. Cruce et de S. Maria," on Friday and Saturday, "si sanctorum natalitia non affuerunt". Bishop, pp. xxvi-xxvii. But I should not dare deliberately to range myself in opposition to Mr. Bishop, by whom none of us are above being taught.

[4] Annales, t. XVII. p. 119.

Damian, who, before being made a cardinal and bishop of Ostia, was a monk of Fonte Avellano, but this attribution is not clearly established. What is certain is S. Peter Damian worked harder than any one else to spread the observance of this office. He relates that the rule of reciting it daily had been established in a monastery of his congregation, the monastery of S. Vincent—"*Statutum erat atque jam per triennium fere servatum ut cum horis canonicis cottidie B. Mariae semper Virginis officia dicerentur*". Then, at the instigation of a bad monk, it was given up, on the ground that its recitation constituted an additional obligation, both novel and burdensome. But scarcely had they given it up, when temptations, storms, robbers, and all the worst calamities possible poured down on the convent.[1] This happened about 1056. And elsewhere, in his *opusculum* on the canonical hours, S. Peter Damian recommends the recitation of the daily office of the Blessed Virgin, as an additional exercise well calculated to ensure the final perseverance of the clergy, and to give them consolation in their last moments. He takes this opportunity of relating the story of a poor clerk, who, in his last hour, not knowing to what good work of his he could point, was only able to remind the Virgin Mary—"Gate of Heaven, and Window of Paradise"—with what faithfulness he had recited her office every day—"Seven times a day I have set forth thy praises, and, unworthy sinner as I have been, I have never, in the Divine Service of the canonical hours, defrauded thee of the homage which is thy due". It is, in fact, what S. Peter Damian calls—"*quotidiana canonicis horis officia in Mariae laudibus frequentare*".[2] And he assures us that the mercy of God was gained for that sinful clerk through the intercession of the Virgin whom he had so de-

[1] S. Petr. Dam. *Epist.* VI. 32 (*P.L.* CXLIV. 431). The epistle is addressed to the monks of the monastery of S. Barnabas at Gamugno, and the fact related is said to have occurred "in monasterio B. Vincentii, quod non procul a monte qui dicitur 'Petra Pertusa' cernitur constitutum," see p. 430. The bad monk "coepit conqueri 'satis superque sufficere quod Sanctus praecipit Benedictus, nec novae adinventionis pondus debere superponi: nec nos esse antiquis Patribus sanctiores, qui videlicet haec superstitiosa ac supervacua judicantes, psallendi nobis metam omnemque vivendi regulam praefixerunt. Hac sane debere nos esse contentos, ne ab illa incautius declinantes, per anfractus et invia ducamur erronei'."

[2] *Opuscul.* X. 10 (*P.L.* CXLV. 230): "Septies in die laudem dixi tibi et . . . omnibus canonicis horis tuae laudis obsequium non fraudavi". "Hoc procul dubio novimus, quia quisquis cottidiana praedictis horis officia in ejus laudibus frequentare studuerit, adjutricem sibimet ac patrocinaturam ipsius Judicis matrem in die necessitatis acquirit".

voutly served.[1] In another passage—this time from the life of S. Peter Damian by his disciple the monk John—we have a whole chapter devoted to telling us with what zeal the holy cardinal laboured for the salvation of souls by his devotion to the Cross and to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and how he applied himself especially to the promotion, among the lax secular clergy of his time, of the custom of reciting daily that office of the Holy Virgin which the monks of Fonte Avellano were wont to recite.[2]

The second half of the eleventh century is the moment, in fact, when we find the daily office of our Lady spreading itself in Italy, in France, in Germany and in England. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it became the object of fervent attachment generally.[3] At Rome, however, any such office remained for a long time unknown: the antiphonary of S. Peter's has no trace of it, and the first mention of it that we find there goes no further back than the Pontificate of Innocent III.[4]

We come, in the last place, to the office of the dead.

To accompany the carrying of a corpse to the grave with the singing of psalms is a liturgical custom to which we find testimony from the third century onwards. The same is the case with the offering of the holy sacrifice of the Mass for the repose of the soul of the departed—*sacrificium pro dormitione* —to use the beautiful expression of S. Cyprian. The Gelasian sacramentary, in the seventh century, speaks of Masses to be said on the third day after burial, on the eighth day, and on the thirtieth, beside the Mass at the burial itself, and anniversary Masses.[5] But neither the obsequies themselves, nor these Masses, had anything in common with what in after times came into being as the office of the dead. It was nevertheless quite natural that between the moment when a Christian drew

[1] Peter the Deacon, at the beginning of the twelfth century, tells us that the daily office of our Lady was in use at Monte Cassino, and he attributes this rule to Pope Zacharias (*d.* 752). This apocryphal attribution shows that they had been looking about for authorities to justify the imposition of this additional office. See Bishop, p. xxviii. The passage from Peter the Deacon is given by Martene, *De antiq. monast. rit.* I. 2, 17. Hugh, Abbot of Cluny (*d.* 1109) introduced there the daily office of our Lady, but only for infirm monks. Bishop, p. xxx.

[2] Joann. Monach. *Vita B. Petri Dam.* 15 (*P.L.* CXLIV. 132): "Omnium horarum officia in honore almae Dei Genitricis in pluribus ecclesiis [instituit]".

[3] Bishop, pp. xxx-xxxvii. Cf. P. Lejay, "Les accroissements de l'office quotidien," in the *Revue du clergé Français*, t. XL. (1904), p. 130: "Les plus anciennes formes des heures de la Virge se trouvent dans les MSS. Anglais *Royal* 2 BV, et *Tiberius* A III. tous deux du XI[e] siècle, publiés en 1902 par M. Dewick dans la collection de la Société Henry Bradshaw".

[4] Radulph, *De canon. observant.* 20.

[5] De Rossi, *Roma sott.* t. III. pp. 495 *et sqq.*

his last breath and the time of his burial, prayer should be said for him, and quite in accordance with Christian ideas that this prayer should take the form of psalmody.

It was long, however, before this sentiment found its canonical expression. The Penitentials of Theodore of Canterbury (*d.* 690) and Egbert of York (*d.* 766) bear witness that in their time there was no such thing at Rome as a vigil of the dead. "According to the Church of Rome," we read in them, "the custom is to carry the dead to the church, to anoint his breast with chrism, and to say Mass for him; then to carry him to the grave with chanting, and, when he has been laid in the tomb, to say a prayer over him. Mass is said for him not only on the day of burial itself, but on the third, ninth, and thirtieth day after, and on the anniversary if it is desired."[1] That is all, and there is no question of a vigil of any kind. This is in the seventh century.

To find the office of the dead established, we must come down to the eighth century,[2] and to the time of Amalarius. Then only, alongside of the *ordo sepulturae*, do we find a real canonical office for the dead—*officium pro mortuis*.[3] The antiphonary of S. Peter's and the *Ordines Romani*[4] give us both its text and its rubrics.

[1] Theod. *Paenit.* 5; Egbert, *Paenit.* I. 36. Here is the passage from Theodore, which Egbert copies: "Secundum Romanam Ecclesiam mos est monachos vel religiosos defunctos in ecclesiam portare, et cum chrismate ungere pectora, ibique pro eis missas celebrare, deinde cum cantatione portare ad sepulturas; et cum positi fuerint in sepulcris, funditur pro eis oratio; denique humo vel petra operiuntur. Prima et tertia et nona necnon trigesima die pro eis missa agatur: exinde post annum, si voluerint, servetur" (*P.L.* XCIX. 929).

[2] Mr. Bishop, p. xvii, notices an office of the dead, in the eighth century, as among the customs of Monte Cassino. The reference is to the *Disciplina Casinensis* of Peter the Deacon, published by Hergott, *Vetus disciplina Monastica* (Paris, 1726), p. 3: "Cum frater ad exitum propinquaverit, omnis congregatio ante eum psalmos decantet; illoque sepulto, post vesperum septem psalmos cum litaniis, omni corpore in terram prostrati, decantent."

[3] Amalarius, *De eccl. off.* IV. 42, referring to a passage similar to that just quoted from the Penitential of Theodore, writes: "Habemus scriptum in quodam Sacramentario quod officia mortuorum agenda sunt circa tertiam diem et septimam et trigesimam". And he adds: "Quod non ita intelligo quasi ille qui tertia die agere vult officia mortuorum debeat praetermittere priores duos dies sine supplicationibus," etc. Thus in the time of Amalarius the custom prescribed by Theodore had been changed, and the *office* of the dead was enjoined as formerly had been the Mass only. Elsewhere he writes: "Post officia sanctorum inserui officium pro mortuis" (*De ord. Antiph.* 65): and further on: "Inveni in Romano et in Metensi antiphonariis ordinem scriptum quomodo fungi officio conveniat circa fines hominum et circa sepulturam eorum. Ex utrisque collegi ea quae recta mihi videbantur, et rationabili cursui congruere, atque ea redacta in unum corpus posui sub uno textu in fine Antiphonarii nostri" (*id.* 79). Compare (*M.G.*) *Epist. Karolini aevi*, t. III. p. 307, article XI. of the letter of Grimaltus and Tatto, monks of Reichenau (A.D. 817).

[4] Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* t. II. pp. 115 *et seq.* (Ordo X).

The body of the departed is brought in the evening to the basilica of S. Peter. Amid the tolling of bells they cross the forecourt of the church, and stop at the threshold of that one of its five doors which is called the "Gate of Judgment" (*porta judicii*), because it is the door of the dead. There they chant the psalm *Miserere*, with these two antiphons:—

> Qui cognoscis omnium occulta, a delicto meo munda me.
> Tempus mihi concede ut repaenitens clamem: Peccavi Tibi.
>
> Induc eum, Domine, in montem haeriditatis Tuae, et in Sanctuarium quod praeparaverunt manus Tuae, Domine.[1]

The door is opened, the body is brought into the "sanctuary," and the office begins. It is a vigil, and includes—as every vigil should—vespers, three nocturns, and lauds. The vespers have their five psalms with antiphons, the versicle, *Magnificat* with its antiphon, followed by the *Kyrie eleison* and the Lord's prayer. No hymn, no short lesson: it is the Roman Office in its purest state. The nocturns begin without invitatory: there is no place for *Venite exultemus* in a funeral vigil.[2] Each nocturn has three psalms with antiphons, and three lessons taken from the book of Job (making nine in all), each lesson being followed by a respond also taken from the same book.[3] The ninth respond is *Ne recorderis peccata mea:* our *Libera me, Domine, de morte aeterna* does not belong to the Roman Office of the time of Charlemagne.[4] After the nocturns come lauds: five psalms with antiphons, the versicle, the *Benedictus* with its antiphon, the *Kyrie eleison* and the Lord's prayer. The vigil of the dead is now ended: in the morning, Mass will be sung before the body, and followed by the *Diaconia*, or *Absolutio*, as it was afterwards called. Then comes the burial.

This pathetic office for the vigil of the dead, created at Rome in the eighth century, was received at the same time as the rest of the Roman Office by the Frankish Churches, before the end of the same century. Such did Amalarius find it in the antiphonaries of Metz and of Corbey. No essential modifica-

[1] Tomasi, t. IV. p. 163: "Thou who knowest the secrets of all hearts, cleanse Thou me from my sin. Grant me time to cry in penitence: 'Against Thee have I sinned'. Bring him in, O Lord, to the mountain of Thine inheritance, even to the sanctuary which Thine hands have prepared, O Lord."

[2] It must be remembered that the vigils of Saints' days which preceded the nocturns of the daily office were also without invitatory. See p. 100.

[3] Amalar. *De ord. Antiph.* 73: "In Septembri mense, juxta doctrinam Romanae Ecclesiae, canimus . . . responsorios . . . de Job . . . in quibus dolor et planctus continetur".

[4] It is still unknown even to the antiphonary of S. Peter's. See Tomasi, t. IV. p. 164.

tion had been introduced: beyond the Alps it remained what the Roman liturgy had made it, and, notably, without any hymns.

But instead of being, as it had been at Rome, merely an accompaniment of solemn obsequies, the prelude to the funeral Mass, it came to be considered the necessary complement of every solemn Mass for the dead, whether on the day of burial or on the anniversary. From this, again, the vigil of the dead got in time to be celebrated every day, both in monasteries, and by the chapters of the secular clergy, and even in parish churches.[1]

At Cluny, vespers and lauds of the dead followed vespers and lauds of the day respectively. As for the nocturns they were recited every evening after supper, in choir: "*Post caenam cum ps. 50 in ecclesiam reditur . . .; agitur officium vel quod a nostratibus vigilia vulgo appellatur . . .; ipsum quoque officium nunquam agitur modo nisi cum novem lectionibus et responsoriis et collectis quae ipsum officium sequuntur*".[2] It is, as one sees, the entire nocturnal office with its nine psalms, nine lessons, and nine responds. S. Peter Damian furnishes us with proof of this daily office of the dead being, in the eleventh century, practised in Italy, even as it was in France,[3] and we are told of certain clerks who, finding it a heavy burden to recite both the canonical office of the day and the office of the dead, confined themselves to the latter, as being shorter and simpler.[4] He relates the story of "a certain brother" who was accustomed to say neither the office of the season nor of the saints' days, but only the office of the dead. Well, he died, and as soon as he appeared before the tribunal of God, the devils made accusa-

[1] M. Lejay, p. 119, thinks that the most ancient mention of the daily office of the dead is furnished by the ritual of Angilbert drawn up for the church of S. Requier, somewhere about A.D. 800. This ritual, published for the first time by Mr. Bishop (*Downside Review*, 1895), from a MS. of the eleventh century, speaks of celebrating "*ob memoriam cunctorum fidelium, per singulos dies ac noctes, vespertinos, nocturnos atque matutinos*". Compare Amalarius, *De eccl. off.* IV. 42: "Sunt enim loca in quibus generaliter pro omnibus defunctis, omni tempore, excepto Pentecostes et festis diebus, in officio vespertinali et matutinali oratur. Sunt et alia in quibus Missa pro eis cottidie celebratur. Sunt etiam et alia in quibus in initio mensis novem psalmi, novem lectiones, totidemque responsorii pro eis cantantur".

[2] Udalric. *Consuetud. Clun.* I. 3.

[3] As to France, see John of Avranches, *De eccl. off.* p. 31 (*P.L.* CXLVII. 39): "Agenda mortuorum sic per totum annum celebratur, excepto a Pascha usque ad Pentecosten, et a Nativitate usque ad Octavam Epiphaniae, et omnibus festis."

[4] In John of Avranches the office of the dead has only three lessons in the nocturnal service.

tion against him with vehemence, that "neglecting the rule of the ecclesiastical state, he had refused to render to God His due, in the matter of the Divine Service." But the Virgin Mary, and, along with "the blessed Queen of the world, all the choirs of saints," intervened to save the soul of this friend of the dead.[1] So at least the story was told to S. Peter Damian by a tender-hearted visionary, his friend the Bishop of Cumae, not that either of them had any intention of encouraging the daily recitation of the office of the dead to the prejudice of the canonical office—"*ecclesiasticae institutionis regulam*".

Here is another legend of the same period. A pilgrim of Rodez, returning from Jerusalem, found himself close to a desolate islet, inhabited by a hermit. This holy man extended hospitality to the wandering pilgrim, and asked him, since he belonged to Aquitaine, whether he knew a monastery called Cluny, and its abbot, Odilo. The pilgrim replied that he did. "Listen then," said the hermit, "in this place we are close to those regions where the souls of sinners undergo the temporal penalty of sins committed on earth; and from where we are they can be heard lamenting that the faithful, and particularly the monks of Cluny, are so niggardly as regards prayer for the alleviation of their sufferings, and their deliverance from them. Go, seek out the abbot of Cluny, and bid him, from me, redouble—both he and all his community—prayers, vigils, and alms, for the deliverance of these souls in pain." On hearing this from the pilgrim, S. Odilo (*d.* 1049) ordained that in all the monasteries of his congregation the morrow of the feast of All Saints should be devoted to the commemoration of all the faithful departed.[2]

These devotions to the Blessed Virgin and to the souls in purgatory did not exhaust the piety of the monks and clergy. They now began to pile on to the daily office the recitation of the fifteen gradual psalms before mattins; of the seven penitential psalms after prime; and of an indeterminate num-

[1] Petr. Dam. *Opuscul.* xxxiv. p. 32 (*Disputatio*), n. 5: "Frater quidam, non cottidiano, non certe solemni sanctorum, sed solo utebatur et delectabatur officio defunctorum," etc.

[2] Iotsald. *Vita Odilonis*, II. 13: "Hac igitur occasione Sanctus Pater generale propositum per omnia monasteria sua constituit, ut sicut in capite Kalendarum Novembrium festivitas agitur Omnium Sanctorum, ita etiam insequenti die memoria generaliter ageretur pro requie omnium fidelium animarum, privatim et publice Missae cum psalmis et eleemosynis celebrarentur". Cf. Udalric. *Cons. Clun.* I. 42.

ber of psalms with intention for benefactors, called *psalmi familiares*.[1] These additions of the tenth and eleventh centuries crushed the traditional office and threw it out of balance. The best-regulated monasteries aspired to some reform.[2] But then, these additions were for the most part the very conditions of the enjoyment of the benefactions on which the monastery subsisted: these devotions were of the nature of mortgages. It was necessary to await the founding of the mendicant orders before a reform of the offices of prayer could take place.

[1] The daily recitation of the gradual psalms before mattins is a custom which Mr. Bishop (p. xv) carries back to S. Benedict of Aniano, relying on a passage from Ardo, *Vita S. Bened. Anian.* 52 (*P.L.* CIII. 378). To the same saint Mr. Bishop (p. xix) traces back the recitation after prime of the penitential psalms (*psalmi speciales*), relying on the fifteenth resolution of the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle in 817 (Herrgott, p. 29). However it may be as to this second point, it is certain that the daily recitation of the gradual and penitential psalms was a custom already established in the tenth century—see the Benedictine *Concordia Regularum*, quoted by Bishop (p. xxii), and S. Dunstan, *De regim. Monach.* 1 (*P.L.* CXXXVIII. 480, 481)—and that in the following century it was a feature of monastic life throughout the West (Lejay, pp. 126-7). To these were added after each hour of the canonical office, two or three psalms (*psalmi familiares*) to be said with intention for the benefactors of the monastery (S. Dunstan, *ibid.* Bishop, p. xxi). There were also, along with the office of our Lady, and the office of the dead, an office of All Saints, of the Holy Cross, of the Trinity, and of the Holy Ghost (Bishop, p. xxv).

[2] *Vita S. Bernardi abb. Tironensis*, 61-2 (*Acta SS. Aprilis*, t. II. p. 237):—

"Non habentibus illis unde viverent nisi labore manuum acquirerent, ipsa necessitas insistere laboribus imperabat, ac multiplex prolixitas familiarium psalmorum, quos tunc temporis dicebant, eos magna parte diei ab operis studio detinebat."

"As they had nothing to live on but what they earned by the labours of their hands, very necessity bade them apply themselves to such labour, and yet the exceeding length of the specially enjoined psalms, which at that time they were wont to recite, kept them for a great part of the day from attending to their work."

When the monks complained, Bernard replied to them:—

"Psalmos quidem, qui per omnia fere monasteria ex more decantantur, nisi Dominus aliquid revelet, vereor omittere."

"These psalms, which are customarily sung in almost all monasteries, I am afraid to omit; unless indeed the Lord should reveal to us in some way His Will."

Then within a week's time, it happened one day that not a single person in the monastery woke up, until well after daybreak; so that on that day the monks found themselves obliged to go on singing their service until afternoon:—

"Quae soporis oppressio revera fuit relinquendi supradictos psalmos divinitus missa revelatio . . . Dominus autem Bernardus ab illo tempore hos psalmos dicere praetermisit, et discipulis suis ut ab illis deinceps quiesceret imperavit, dixitque se pro certo scire quod Deus malebat illos laborando sibi victum acquirere, quam tam multiplicibus psalmis insistere."

"And this visitation of sleep was in truth a revelation from Heaven that they should leave off the aforesaid psalms. And so Dom Bernard from that time gave up their recitation, and bade his flock for the future leave them alone; saying that he was now quite certain that God would have them rather gain their livelihood by labour than make a point of reciting such a vast number of psalms."

This S. Bernard died in 1117.

III.

And thus we arrive at the period of that liturgical evolution which took place at Rome in the thirteenth century, and which was destined to give birth to the "breviary" of the Roman *Curia*. In other words, what we have now to relate is the manner in which there was formed a *breviary* of that modern office which we have just described, and how this breviary was adopted by the *Curia*.

The daily recitation of the Divine Office implied that the clergy—and by this time they were held to be *individually* bound to such recitation—had in their individual possession the text of that office; and this text constituted an immense mass of writing. The psalmody properly so called required a psalter; the antiphons, an antiphonary; the responds, a responsoral; the lessons, a Bible, a homiliary and a *Passionarium* (book containing the passions of the saints). To these we must add a *Collectarium*, containing the collects, a hymnal, and a martyrology. Some of these books might have to be in several volumes.[1] It was well if monasteries and chapters had no difficulty in procuring and keeping up such a voluminous and costly collection. But how about the poorer religious houses, the country parish churches, the poor clergy? There was clearly a pressing necessity, from the moment when the recitation of the Divine Office had become a duty incumbent on all the clergy, to make it easier for each of them. Hence proceeded a series of attempts at codification, resulting at last in the production of the "breviary".

When we look over ancient catalogues of libraries, we are struck by the appearance, in the eleventh century, of a new category in liturgical bibliography. The *antiphonarii*, such as we should have met with at Rome in the eighth century, have disappeared: but there is frequent mention of *libri nocturnales* or *libri matutinales*. These collections are generally in three volumes, and for the most part without note—*absque cantu*. They contain the lessons both of the season

[1] Ahyto, *Capitulare*, 6 (*P.L.* cv. 763): "Quae ipsis sacerdotibus necessaria sunt ad discendum, id est, Sacramentarium, lectionarium, antiphonarium, baptisterium, computus, canon paenitentialis, psalterium, homiliae per circulum anni dominicis diebus et singulis festivitatibus aptae". Cf. John Beleth, *Rationale*, 60. See in Ehrensberger, p. 92, the description of a *Passionarium*, *Vatican Lat.* 5695 (XIth-XIIth cent.), which belonged to the Roman basilica of S. Mary *ad martyres* (the Pantheon); also, p. 143, of a lectionary, written out by "Adinalfus, presbyter et monachus," for the monastery of S. Gregory on the Caelian, *Vatican Lat.* 1274 (Xth cent.); also, p. 144, of another lectionary, which belonged to the same monastery, *Vatican Lat.* 1189 (Xth-XIth cent.).

and for saints' day, for the whole year, and each lesson is accompanied by its respond. To these are sometimes added the antiphons and psalms. Finally, united to all these, we find, not only the *collectarium*, but everything else that pertains both to the nocturnal office itself—mattins and lauds—and also to the little hours and to vespers. So that one has liturgical collections corresponding to the following description:—

> Libri nocturnales absque cantu, primus ab Adventu Domini usque ad Pascha; secundus a Pascha usque ad Adventum Domini; tertius de Sanctis per anni circulum, cum psalterio et ymnario officiali.[1]

Liturgical collections of this sort are to be found in goodly number still among the MSS. in our libraries: they are generally of the eleventh or twelfth century, some even of the thirteenth.[2] But they are still exceedingly voluminous, since in one work they give the entire text of the Canonical Office.[3] They are emphatically *choir* books. Something quite different was needed for the private recitation of the office: a little book that could be carried about, suspended to the girdle by a ring. The first step had been to eliminate from the *Liber Nocturnalis pleniter scriptus*[4] everything of the nature of musical notation: then it was thought sufficient to write down only the first words of each antiphon, versicle, and respond, as constant use was considered to have made the clergy familiar with the whole text of them. And so, by degrees, alongside of the great *libri nocturnales* for the choir, there came into being little books of the nature of abridgements—"*epitomata sive breviaria*"—as a catalogue of the end of the eleventh century calls them.[5]

[1] G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn, 1885), pp. 172, 234, 252, 270.

[2] At the same period, a similar evolution took place in regard to the Mass books, and the *Missale plenum* makes its appearance. See A. Ebner, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kunstgeschichte des Missale Romanum in Mittelalter* (Freiburg, 1896), pp. 359-63: "Die Entwicklung des Sacramentars zum Vollmissale".

[3] See, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, 796, a MS. of this sort, containing only the Proper of the season, of the twelfth century, and made perhaps for the use of the abbey of S. Victor at Paris.

[4] Becker, p. 252.

[5] *ibid.*, 174. In *Mélanges Julien Havet* (Paris, 1895), pp. 201-9, I have described a primitive breviary of this type, written at Monte Cassino about 1099-1100. It is MS. 364 in the Bibliothèque Mazarine. The MS. *Vatican Lat.* 4298, emanating from the monastery of S. Sophia at Benevento, dates from about 1113, and is a breviary of the same primitive type. It contains, first, a kalendar; then: "Incipit breviarium sive ordo officiorum per totam anni decursionem. In primis, Sabbato ante Adventum. . . ." Then comes the psalter, the hymnal, the *collectarium*, and lastly the lessons with their responds. Bäumer, t. II. p. 64, mentions the following MSS. of the same class: Treves, 428 (end of XIIth cent.);

This new liturgical term, "breviary" has no sooner come into general use in the eleventh and twelfth centuries than it becomes the sign of a tendency towards something newer still. These portable office-books, the *breviaria*, are not meant for the use of clerks when taking part in the office in choir, but when reciting it in private or on a journey. Among the books possessed by the cathedral of Durham in the twelfth century is a breviary which fully bears out what has just been said, for it is characterized as a little travelling breviary—"*breviarium parvum itinerarium*".[1] In 1227 a council at Treves ordains that the clergy are to have breviaries of the office, to use when travelling.[2] Thus was introduced a form of the office distinct from that used in choir, and contained in these books—*breviaria itineraria*, or *breviaria portatilia*.[3] What was destined to happen was that the use of such books spread rapidly, and that eventually this shortened office ousted even from the choir the ancient traditional office.

The influence of the *Curia* on this movement of transformation was great and decisive. The Pope and the clergy of the *Curia* recited the daily office in private. Moreover the movements from place to place of the Pope and his train were continual. The Pope's chapel, therefore, could not be tied down to the canonical office as said in choir. A liturgist of the latter half of the fourteenth century, very well acquainted with, and very much in love with, Roman customs, Ralph de Rivo, provost of Tongres in the diocese of Liége (*d.* 1403), instructs us as to the peculiar use of the pontifical chapel. "Formerly," he writes, "when the Roman Pontiffs were residing at the Lateran, the Roman Office was observed in their chapel; but less completely than in the collegiate churches of the city of Rome. The clerks of the Papal chapel, whether of their own

S. Gall, 413 and 416 (end of XIth, beginning of XIIth); Casanate B. IV. 21 and B. II. 1 (XIth cent.). I will mention also: Paris, Bibl. Nat. 10,477 (written in 1182 for the Carthusians); 13,223 (Poitou, XIIth cent.); 743 (S. Martial at Limoges, XIIth cent.); 1253 (from the same, XIth cent.); 1256 and 1257 (Tulle, XIIth); 17,991 (perhaps from Hautvilliers, XIIth); 13,221 (Corbey, XIIth); 12,035 and 12,601 (Picardy, XIIth). Also at Troyes, 1159, 1467, 1608, 2044, 2061, 1836 (all emanating from Clairvaux, XIIth); at Orléans, 123 (Fleury, XIIth); at S. Omer, 354 (S. Bertin, XIIth).

[1] Becker, p. 244. Cf. *Usus ordinis Cisterc.* 89 (*P.L.* CLXVI. 1464): "[Monachus egrediens de monasterio] tam die quam nocte dum non equitaverit, stans horas, si non multum gravatur, dicat". This Cistercian rule is that drawn up by S. Stephen Harding, abbot of Cîteaux (*d.* 1134).

[2] *Canon* 9 (Mansi, t. XXIII. p. 33): "Item praecipimus, etiam districte, ut omnes sacerdotes habeant breviaria sua, in quibus possint horas suas legere quando sunt in itinere".

[3] Martene, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, t. IV. p. 1757.

accord or by order of the Pontiff, always abridged the Roman Office, and often modified it in other ways, to suit the convenience of the Pope and the cardinals."[1]

This testimony is very instructive, but I cannot help fearing that Ralph of Tongres is playing upon the words *breviarium* and *breviare*. It will be more prudent to affirm on his authority only this one fact, that, before the Popes quitted Rome for Avignon, the *Curia* had an office distinct from that of the churches of the city of Rome, differing from it both as regards its length and its rubrics.[2]

Ralph of Tongres goes on to state with precision the origin of this use of the *Curia*, and his witness on this point is no mere induction based on a play upon words, but the statement of a fact. "I saw at Rome an *ordinarium* of this [palatine] office, compiled in the time of Innocent III" (1198-1216), he writes. Ralph had consulted and examined, at Rome itself, the office-books of various churches—"*Romae plura ex diversis ecclesiis et libris scriptitavi*"—and his testimony is definite: "*Hujus officii ordinarium vidi Romae a tempore Innocentii III recollectum*". Moreover, there are many things that confirm this testimony: we find, in fact, traces of rubrics, and those, too, of importance, which bear the name of Innocent III, and which appear to belong to a general reorganization of the office. Thus the introduction of the daily office of our Lady

[1] Radulph, *De canonum observantia*, 22: "Nam olim, quando Romani Pontifices apud Lateranum residebant, in eorum capella servabatur Romanum officium non ita complete sicut in aliis urbis ecclesiis collegiatis. Immo clerici capellares, sive de mandato Papae sive ex se, officium Romanum semper breviabant et saepe alterabant, prout Domino Papae et Cardinalibus congruebat observandum. Et hujus officii ordinarium vidi Romae, a tempore Innocentii III recollectum". We quote Ralph of Tongres from Hittorp, *De Cath. Eccl. divin. off.* (Cologne, 1568), and the *Max. Bibl. Vet. Patrum*, t. XXVI. (Lyons, 1677). As to Ralph, see C. Mohlberg, *Radulph de Rivo, der letzte Vertreter der alt Römischen Liturgie* (Louvain, 1911). The *De canonum observantia* was written by Ralph at Cologne in 1397.

[2] Radulph, 22:—

"Aliae nationes orbis Romani libros et officia sua habent e directo ab ipsis ecclesiis Romanis, et non a capella Papae, sicut ex libris et tractatibus Amalarii, Walafridi, Micrologi, Gemmae, et ceterorum de officio divino scribentium colligitur evidenter. His praemissis, videamus an dicti Fratres qui singularem usum cum Regula servant singulari, an ceterae nationes et religiosi magis appropinquent in divino officio ad ordinem S. Romanae Ecclesiae."

"The other nations of the Roman world have received their office-books direct from the churches of Rome, and not from the Pope's chapel, as may clearly be gathered from the works of Amalarius, etc., who have written concerning the Divine Office. This being premised, let us see whether these Friars, who follow their own peculiar use, just as they have their own peculiar rule, or the other nations and religious orders, come the nearest, as regards the Divine Office, to the order of the Holy Roman Church."

and of the dead into the canonical office is attributed to Innocent III; and so are the rubrics concerning the recitation of the penitential and gradual psalms in Lent.[1] This gives us a right to affirm that Innocent III made rules for the recitation of the office by the *Curia*, and to indulge a hope that some day a MS. copy may be found of this first edition of the pontifical breviary.

We may even define within narrow limits the time when this new *ordinarium* of the office was established. We have a Bull of Innocent III, dated May 25th, 1205; Baldwin, who had been made Emperor of Constantinople on May 9th, 1204, had written to the Pope, asking him for "missals, breviaries, and other books, containing the ecclesiastical office according to the use of the holy Roman Church":—

Postulavit missalia, breviaria, caeterosque libros, in quibus officium ecclesiasticum secundum instituta S. Romanae Ecclesiae continetur.

And accordingly the Pope makes inquiry among the bishops of France, and requests them to be good enough to procure for the Emperor the books which he asks for—"*ut Orientalis Ecclesia in divinis laudibus ab Occidentalis non dissonet*".[2] If there had been at Rome, in 1205, a Roman *ordinarium* of recent promulgation, would Innocent III have had recourse to the bishops of France, in order to furnish Baldwin with office books *secundum instituta S. Romanae Ecclesiae?*

We may then conjecture that the *Ordinarium* of Innocent III is posterior to 1205. But would it not even be posterior

[1] Radulph, 15, 21, 22. The convent of S. Damian, near Assisi, possesses a MS. breviary, said to have belonged to S. Clare. It was written in 1227. It is not precisely a breviary, for it contains also Masses. But in many passages in it we find traces of the liturgical activity of Innocent III. At the beginning of the book we read: "Incipit ordo et officium Breviarii Romane Ecclesie Curie quem consuevimus observare tempore Innocentii Tercii Pape et aliorum Pontificum". See A. Cholat, *Le Bréviaire de Sainte Claire* (Paris, 1904), p. 44. Several rubrics are set forth as rules enacted by Innocent III: "et hoc secundum preceptum Innocentii Pape," *op. cit.* pp. 57-9. This MS., however, though interesting on many accounts, does not actually furnish us with a copy of the breviary of Innocent III. See P. Hilarin [Felder], *Histoire des études dans l'Ordre de S. François* (Paris, 1908), pp. 441-9.

[2] Potthast. no. 2512 (*P.L.* ccxv. 637): "Memoratos quoque libros, quibus non solum abundare sed superabundare vos novimus, ad partes illas, saltem pro exemplaribus, mittere procuretis". The Bibliothèque Nationale possesses four breviaries (not Roman, but after the use of Paris), all four having belonged to the "maîtres pauvres de Sorbonne étudiant dans la faculté de théologie". They are Nos. 15613, 16304, 16307, 16308, all of the thirteenth century. In the fourteenth they have been valued as follows: the first, "precium X libre"; the second, "pretii XXX solidorum"; the third, "precii XL solidorum"; the fourth, "pretii XXX solidorum". [On becoming Emperor, Baldwin had displaced the Oriental Rite at Constantinople, and introduced the Western.—A. B.]

to 1210? We shall see that such a conjecture is not without foundation.[1]

It would have been quite conceivable that the *ordinarium* of Innocent III would remain peculiar to the papal chapel, and not travel beyond the palace of the Lateran; on the contrary, however, it was, as a matter of fact, propagated with astonishing rapidity throughout Latin Christendom. This was not (at all events in the first instance) the work of the Popes, but of the sons of S. Francis. Ralph of Tongres himself tells us that the shortened office of the Palatine clergy was adopted by the Friars Minor:—

> Hujus officii ordinarium vidi Romae a tempore Innocentii III recollectum . . . et illud officium breviatum secuti sunt Fratres Minores.

But the Franciscan Rule itself makes us still more sure of this.[2]

[1] By a process of induction I had been led to place the *Ordinarium* of Innocent III between 1210 and 1216. Salimbene appears to place it in 1215. Fr. Salimb. *Chronica* (M.G. 1905), p. 31. Here is the text of this curious passage:—

"Anno Domini MCCXV. Innocentius Papa Tertius apud Lateranum sollemne concilium celebravit. Hic etiam officium ecclesiasticum in melius correxit et ordinavit, et de suo addidit, et de alieno dempsit; nec adhuc est bene ordinatum, secundum appetitum multorum, et etiam secundum rei veritatem; quia multa sunt superflua, quae magis taedium quam devotionem faciunt, tam audientibus quam dicentibus illud, ut Prima Dominicalis, quando sacerdotes debent dicere Missas suas, et populus eas expectat, nec est qui celebret,—occupatus in Prima. Item dicere XVIII psalmos in Dominicali et nocturnali officio ante *Te Deum laudamus;* et ita, aestivo tempore, quando pulices molestant, et noctes sunt breves et calor intensus, ut yemali, nonnisi taedium provocat. Sunt adhuc multa in ecclesiastico offitio quae possent mutari in melius. Et dignum esset, quia plena sunt ruditatibus, quamvis non cognoscantur ab omnibus."

"A.D. 1215. Pope Innocent III held a solemn council at the Lateran. He corrected the ecclesiastical office and set it in order, adding somewhat of that which rightly pertained to it, and removing other matter which belonged not to it. But not yet is it well set in order, according to what many would wish, nor indeed really and truly; for many superfluous things remain, which are a greater cause of weariness than devotion, both to those who hear the office and those who say it. Such is that long prime on Sundays, when the priests ought to be saying their Masses, and the people are waiting to hear them, and lo! there is none to celebrate,—he is busy, forsooth, saying his Prime. So also to say eighteen psalms in Sunday nocturn office or ever you come to *Te Deum*—and that just as much in the summer (when the fleas are so troublesome, and the nights are short and the heat intense) as in the winter—is nought but a weariness. There are many other things in the ecclesiastical office which might well be changed for the better—and should be, of right: for they are full of barbarisms, though all men perceive it not."

[2] P. Ubald, *Les opuscules de S. François d'Assise* (Paris, 1905), pp. 14-16. The text of the earliest of the three Rules (1209) is lost. Cf. Bonavent. *Vita S. Francisci*, 41 (*Acta SS. Octobr.* t. II. p. 751): "Vacabant ibidem divinis precibus incessanter, mentaliter potius quam vocaliter, studio intendentes orationis devotae, pro eo quod nondum ecclesiasticos libros habebant in quibus possent horas canonicas decantare".

The second Rule (1210-1221) enjoins on the clergy of the Order the recitation of the office *secundum consuetudinem clericorum*, and to have for that purpose the necessary books.[1] Nothing is said of the *ordinarium* of Rome, or of breviaries. On the other hand, in the third Rule (1223) it is enjoined on the clergy of the Order to recite the office according to the *Ordinarium* of the Holy Roman Church, with the one exception that they are to keep to the text of the "Gallican" psalter, which is by this time in use everywhere, except at Rome; and the Friars are directed to have for that purpose breviaries of the said office.[2] In other words, there are in existence in 1223 breviaries of the Divine Office according to the order of the Holy Roman Church, and these new books are adopted by the Franciscan family. Thus, Ralph of Tongres writes:—

> Et illud officium breviatum secuti sunt Fratres Minores, inde est quod Breviaria eorum et libros officii intitulant "secundum consuetudinem Romanae Curiae".[3]

But this breviary of the Roman *Curia* was not adopted by them just as it was in the time of Innocent III. The friars corrected it for their own use, and the modifications introduced by them constituted really a second edition of the breviary of the *Curia*, an edition approved by Pope Gregory IX in 1241,

[1] Wadding, *Annales Minorum* (Rome, 1731), t. I. p. 68: "Clerici faciant officium et dicant pro vivis et pro mortuis secundum consuetudinem clericorum. . . . Et libros necessarios ad implendum eorum officium possint habere." The Rule adds that to compensate for omissions and negligence the Friars are to say every day *Miserere* and a *Pater noster;* and for the dead, *De profundis* and a *Pater noster*. From which we may conclude that the Rule abrogates the daily recitation of the penitential psalms, and the office of the dead.

[2] *ibid.* t. II. p. 65: "Clerici faciant divinum officium secundum ordinem S. Romanae Ecclesiae, excepto psalterio, ex quo habere poterunt breviaria". Cf. the Bull of Innocent IV, of November 14th, 1245 (Potthast, 11962; Wadding, t. III. p. 129). S. Bonaventure, *Expositio in regulam Fratrum Minorum*, 3 (Vives' edition, t. XIV. p. 570), makes the following comment: "Quod officium fuit in majori parte a S. Gregorio et aliis Sanctis institutum, excepto psalterio, quia Ecclesia Romana utitur alia translatione psalterii quam communiter habeatur vel verius aliter emendato. Ex quo scilicet officio habere poterunt Breviaria. Sed quare S. Franciscus, ex quo fratres suos volebat in praedicatione et studio per consequens exerceri, tam oneroso, tam prolixo officio oneravit? Resp: S. Franciscus optabat Romanae Ecclesiae vestigiis religionem suam idcirco pro viribus copulare, quia sciens eam immediate subesse caelesti curiae, et ab ipso fuisse Domino institutam, et a Sanctis Patribus gubernatam. . . . Quum ergo nulli incumbit tanta sollicitudo vacandi sapientiae pro regimine vel illustratione universalis Ecclesiae sicut Ecclesiae Romanae, nulli pro Ecclesiae ministerio aut studio congruit illud officium abbreviare. Suspecta est ergo cujuslibet nutricis pietas, quae affectum putat transcendere tantae matris."

[3] Radulph, 22. It should be remarked that, even in choir, these Minorites do not invariably *sing* the office, but merely recite it. This is expressly enjoined for the Clares. Ubald, p. 250.

and mainly the work of Aymo of Faversham, General of the Franciscans.

Breviarium a fratre Aymone sanctae recordationis, praedecessore meo, pio correctum studio, et per Sedem Apostolicam confirmatum, et approbatum postea per Capitulum generale.[1]

Such are the words of John of Parma, in 1249, in a circular letter wherein he enjoins on the Friars Minor the use of the breviary of Aymo authorized by Gregory IX, without changing anything, in the chant, the text, the hymns, the antiphons, or the lessons. As for the local festivals of saints, the Minorites are to celebrate them, out of deference to the custom of the place where they live; but whatever degree of dignity these festivals may have in their own locality, the Minorites are never to give them a higher rank than that of semi-doubles: and they are not to have any proper office, but to be observed with that of the Common of saints only: so that nothing belonging to them is to appear in the books of the Minorites, with the one exception of the new office of S. Antony of Padua (canonized in 1232), which is allowed "*quousque de ipso melius ordinetur*".[2]

So here we have a sort of second edition of the breviary of the Roman *Curia*, an edition for the use of the Franciscans, for which, in the course of a few years, they are to gain a uni-

[1] Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, t. III. p. 299. We have already (p. 120) quoted the Bull of Gregory IX (Potthast, no. 11,028). Père Hilarin believes that he has discovered two copies of the breviary of Aymo, one in the MS. *Vatican. Ottoboni.* 15 of about 1290; the other of somewhat earlier date, he thinks, in a MS. belonging to the Franciscan convent at Munich, cod. 292. The rubrics of these two breviaries attributed to Aymo will be found in *Analecta Ordinis Minorum*, t. XXIII. (Rome, 1906). Cf. Mohlberg, pp. 129-30.

[2] *ibid.* t. III. p. 208-9, gives the text of the letter of John of Parma, A.D. 1249, to the Minorites of Tuscany: "Quia, sicut indubitanter cognovi, nonnulli Fratrum officium divinum, quod de Regula nostra secundum ordinem S. Romanae Ecclesiae celebrare debemus, in litera mutare interdum, sed et in cantu maxime variare praesumunt . . . districte duxi praesentibus injungendum quod, praeter id solum quod ordinarium missalis et breviarum a fratre Aymonis sanctae recordationis praedecessore meo, pio correctum studio, et per Sedum Apostolicam confirmatum, et approbatum postea nihilominus per Generale Capitulum, noscitur continere, ut nihil omnino in cantu vel litera sub alicujus festi seu devotionis obtentu, in hymnis, seu responsoriis, vel antiphonis, seu prosis, aut lectionibus, vel aliis quibuslibet (Beatae Virginis antiphonis, videlicet *Regina caeli*, *Alma Redemptoris*, *Ave Regina Caelorum*, et *Salve Regina*, quae post Completorium diversis cantantur temporibus, et officio B. Antonii, quousque de ipso melius ordinetur, tantum exceptis) in choro cantari vel legi, nisi forte alicubi compellat librorum nostrorum defectus, aut in libris Ordinis illa scribi, antequam per Capitulum Generale recepta fuerint, modo aliquo permittatis." And, further on: "Natalitia vero sanctorum specialia, juxta ordinarii traditionem secundum regiones diversas diversimodo celebranda, juxta morem et breviarium nostrum Sanctorum Commune tantummodo faciatis . . . ita tamen quod solemnitatem et modum semiduplicis officii nostri apud nos festa hujusmodi non excedant, quantumcumque ab aliis solemnia judicentur."

versal popularity, and which, before long, the *Curia* itself will adopt for its own use.[1]

The adoption by the *Curia* of the breviary of the Friars Minor took place between the pontificate of Gregory IX (1227-41) and that of Nicholas III (1277-80), but no trace of it has so far been found in the Pontifical registers. Ralph of Tongres simply tells us that Nicholas III "caused all the antiphonaries and other books of the ancient office to be suppressed in the churches of Rome, ordering that henceforth they should make use of the books and breviaries of the Minorites, whose Rule he at the same time confirmed". "And this," he adds, "is why all the books at Rome now are new and Franciscan."[2]

Thus the grand old Roman Office, the office of the time of Charlemagne and of Hadrian I, was suppressed by Nicholas III (himself a Franciscan) in those of the Roman basilicas which had remained faithful to it, and for this ancient office there was substituted the breviary or epitome of the modernized office which the Minorites had been observing since the time of Gregory IX.

The Palatine breviary of Innocent III had become the breviary of the Friars Minor: under Nicholas III the breviary of the Minorites becomes the breviary of the Roman Church, and henceforth there was to be no other "Roman" office but

[1] There are traces of a revision in 1260 of the breviary of Aymo. See Wadding, *Ann. Min.* t. IV. p. 129: "Actum etiam in eodem Capitulo [at Narbonne, 1260] de ritibus, et cultu variorum Sanctorum. Ordinatum est ut fieret officium duplex deinceps de SS. Trinitate in Octava Pentecostes. Secundo, quod de IV praecipuis Ecclesiae doctoribus, Augustino, Hieronymo, Ambrosio, Gregorio, fieret semiduplex. Tertio, de S. Bernardo fieret festum die suo, viz. XIII. Kal. Septembris. Quarto, de S. Clara fieret officium duplex. . . . Quinto, quod antiphonae consuetae S. MariaeVirginis dicerentur post Completorium, excepto dumtaxat Triduo ante Pascha Resurrectionis. . . ." And on the previous page: "Praeterea jussum est ut libri omnes rituales corrigerentur ad exemplaria illorum qui correcti erant ex Pontificis et Ordinis praescripto per Haymonem Anglicum, olim Ministrum Generalem, quos etiam Ordinarium Romanum admisit."

[2] Radulph. 22: "Nicolaus Papa III, natione Romanus, de genere Ursinorum, qui coepit anno 1277, et palatium apud S. Petrum construxit, fecit in ecclesiis Urbis amoveri . . . libros officii antiquos . . . et mandavit ut de caetero ecclesiae Urbis uterentur . . . breviariis Fratrum Minorum, quorum Regulam etiam confirmavit. Unde hodie in Roma omnes libri sunt novi et Franciscani". This assertion on the part of Ralph of Tongres must not without reservation be taken as literally true, for, a century later, Pope Gregory XI (1370-78) imposed the use of the Franciscan breviary on the basilica of S. John Lateran, which had so far resisted the innovation: "Ut membra capiti se conforment, praesenti institutione decernimus quod tam nocturnum quam diurnum in Lateranensi ecclesia cum nota dicatur juxta rubricam, ordinem, sive morem S. Romanae Ecclesiae, seu Capellae domini nostri Papae." *Constitutiones Lateranenses*, I, in Mabillon, *Mus. Ital*, t. II. p. 577.

according to this new form.[1] In 1337, when the Holy See was established at Avignon, Benedict XII suppressed the old books which were used by the clergy and in the churches of Avignon, in order to impose upon them the breviary of the *Curia*. He is severe upon the old office-books, to which he alludes as *pristinis veterum codicum rudimentis:* the new books, on the contrary, he praises as being *convenientes et aptos*.[2]

Anyone who wishes to know what these books "conformed to the use of the *Curia* and the Roman Church" were, has only to cast his eye over the ancient catalogues of the library of the Popes at Avignon: he will not find there any longer the books which used to serve for the Divine Office, *libri responsales*, *libri nocturnales*, etc., but crowds of books entitled *Breviarium ad usum Romanum*, *Breviarium de Camera*, *Breviarium pro Camera*.[3] The liturgical revolution, which substituted the breviary of the Roman *Curia* for the old *Ordo psallendi* of S. Peter's, was an accomplished fact.

This breviary we have now to describe.[4]

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[1] [Thus, from this time onwards, arises the distinction between the Divine Office according to the Roman "Use," and the "Uses" of the various local Churches throughout Europe which did not adopt the Franciscan breviary.—A. B.]

[2] Martene, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, t. IV. p. 558: "Ordinamus atque constituimus quod amodo universi et singuli clerici ac personae ecclesiasticae praedictae civitatis et dioecesis a consuetis officiis liberi et immunes existant, et pristinis veterum codicum rudimentis omissis . . . officium divinum diurnum pariter et nocturnum dicere valeant juxta ordinem, morem, seu statutum quo Ecclesia utitur et Curia Romana supradicta . . . Statuimus ut in universis et singulis ecclesiis ejusdem civitatis et dioecesis quarum libri ex antiquitatis incommodo renovationis vel reparationis remedio indigent, illi ad quos pertinet emant seu fieri faciant libros convenientes et aptos, qui dictae Ecclesiae et Curiae Romanae usui congruant opportuno."

[3] F. Ehrle, *Historia bibliothecae Romanorum Pontificum* (Rome, 1890), t. I. pp. 200, 214, 404, 547, etc.

[4] For the following description of the Roman breviary of the *Curia* and the Minorites I have consulted a great number of MS. breviaries. M. Leopold Delisle was kind enough to place at my disposal his descriptive inventory of the breviaries possessed by the Bibliothèque Nationale. My observations are more particularly based on the following MSS: Bib. Nat. 1049 (15th cent., after 1458); 1314 (end of the 15th); 1262 (15th, from Rodez); 1289 (end of 15th); 1290 (15th); 13,244 (15th); 1260 (A.D. 1458, Rodez); 13,236 (15th, Rodez); 16,309 (14th, Saintes); 1058 (end of 15th, Sarlat); 1288 (end of 14th, Rouen); 756 (A.D. 1406, Florence); 760 (15th, Milan); 1045 (14th); 1064 (beginning of 15th, Spanish); 1282 (14th, Spanish); 17,993 (14th, Italian); 1280 (14th-15th, Italian); 1281 (14th-15th, Italian); 1044 (15th, German); 10,481 (about A.D. 1340); 9423 (14th). See in H. Ehrensberger, *Bibliotheca liturgica manuscripta* (Karlsruhe, 1889), pp. 22-30, a descriptive list of the MSS. breviaries in the library at Karlsruhe: also in his *Libri liturgici*, pp. 199-308, a similar list of the MSS. breviaries in the Vatican library, especially *Vatican Lat.* 6014 (A.D. 1474); 6069 (1318); 7692 (1462); *Ottoboni*, 511 (1471) and 545 (1465). There should also be consulted the important work of G. Mercati, *Appunti per la storia del Breviario Romano nei Secoli XIV-XV, tratti dalle Rubicae Novae* (Rome, 1903), reprinted separately from the *Rassegna Gregoriana* of 1903.

The breviary of the *Curia* is composed of five parts—the kalendar, the psalter, the *temporale*, the Proper of saints and the Common of saints. The kalendar is generally at the beginning of the MS., and the psalter comes immediately after. It sometimes happens, however, that the psalter is inserted in the middle of the volume, between the Proper of the season and the Proper of saints. As a general rule, the psalter is without any title, but sometimes it has one, such as *Incipit psalmista cum invitatoriis et ymnis*, or *Incipit psalterium ordinatum*, or *Incipit psalterium secundum morem Romanae Curiae.* Here we have for the first time the metrical hymns introduced into the Roman Office.[1] The psalms and canticles are set out in the order in which they occur in the dominical and ferial office, and among them, in their respective places, the *Te Deum*, the *Quicunque*, the hymns, invitatories, antiphons, versicles and capitula of the office, whether dominical or ferial, for mattins, lauds and vespers,[2] as well as for the lesser hours. The hymns for the proper of the season and of saints are placed either at the beginning or at the end of the psalter.

The version of the psalter used by the Minorites is that now in use, called the Gallican: at Rome, at least in the basilicas, the older version called the Roman held its ground in liturgical use down to the end of the fifteenth century.[3]

The Proper of the season is the part which gives its name to the entire book—*Incipit Ordo Breviarii secundum consuetudinem Romanae Curiae*, or—*Incipit Breviarium Fratrum Minorum secundum*, etc. (but this latter not earlier than the fifteenth century), or—*Incipit Breviarium secundum consuetudinem Romanae Ecclesiae.*

The *temporale* contains the Proper office of the season, from the first Sunday in Advent to the last Sunday after Pentecost, the antiphons, lessons, responds, and collects. The Scripture lessons of the *temporale* are allotted according to the traditional

[1] The hymns are mentioned, at all events for the little hours, in the time of Gregory X (1271-76), in the *Ordo Romanus*, XIII. 26.

[2] Radulph, 10: "In festivitatibus quoque ad secundas vesperas Fratrum Minorum usus ponit psalmos dominicales, ultimo secundum festivitatem mutato. Gallici vero in majoribus festivitatibus per psalmos *Laudate* solemnizant. Sed Alemanni ubi possunt se tenent ad feriales". This observation of Ralph's relates to the end of the fourteenth century. As a matter of fact, the custom of celebrating second vespers was introduced at Rome in the thirteenth century. Under Gregory X (1271-76), second vespers, as regards the Papal liturgy, are attested by the *Ordo Romanus*, XIII. 25.

[3] Tomasi (pref. to t. II.) quotes a psalter written in 1480 for the Chapter of S. Mary's the greater. The version is that of the Roman psalter, "secundum consuetudinem clericorum Romanae urbis ejusque districtus".

order, but each of them extends over a very few lines, and the sermons and the homilies are scarcely at all longer.[1] These last are taken by preference from the doctors of the Church, SS. Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory: and with these S. Leo and S. John Chrysostom. No name occurs of later date than S. Gregory.[2]

Two important novelties characterize the *temporale* of the breviary of the *Curia*, the introduction of the festivals of the Trinity and of *Corpus Christi*.

The office of the Holy Trinity—*Gloria Tibi Trinitas aequalis*—was certainly absent from the breviary of Innocent III, and from that of Gregory IX; it was introduced into the office of the Minorites by their chapter at Narbonne in 1260, but even at the beginning of the fourteenth century we find MS. breviaries which are without it. "*Romani nunquam de Trinitate celebrant festum*," says Durandus in 1286,[3] while near the end of the fourteenth century Ralph of Tongres tells us that "*hodiernis temporibus Romae et in Curia Romana solemnis habetur festivitas S. Trinitatis*".[4]

The office of *Corpus Christi* (*Sacerdos in aeternum*), the work of S. Thomas Aquinas, is missing in some breviaries of the beginning of the fourteenth century. The festival, inaugurated at Liége in 1246, and confirmed by Urban IV in 1264, after the miracle of Bolsena, became neglected towards the end of the thirteenth century, but was restored to due honour by Clement V (1311) and John XXII (1316).[5] With the exception

[1] Radulph, 22: "Aliae nationes . . . et Lateranensis et aliae Romanae ecclesiae habent sermones et homilias integras, passionesque sanctorum. . . . Sed Fratres Minores causa brevitatis, Capellam sequendo, hoc alteraverunt."

[2] M. Cholat, op. cit. pp. 59-61, notices in the *Breviary of S. Clare* some sermons of Innocent III: in this he sees a trace of the rehandling of the liturgy carried out by that Pontiff.

[3] Durandus, *Rationale*, VI. 114, 7. We know of two offices of the Trinity. One of them (*Gloria Tibi*), which is found in the present breviary, was the work of Stephen of Liège, if we may believe Durandus (VI. 114, 6), and therefore dates back to the tenth century. The other (*Sedenti super solium*) was written by John Peckham (*d.* 1292). Bäumer, *Geschichte*, pp. 362-3. This information of Bäumer's is not to be found in the French edition. [I hardly think so high an antiquity can be justly claimed for the office *Gloria Tibi*. Four of the five vesper antiphons are metrical stanzas, two of Iambic dimeters, and two Sapphic. They have a very *Dominican* ring about them.—A. B.]

[4] Radulph. 16. In the same passage he mentions the feast of *Corpus Christi*.

[5] Baronius, *Annales*, t. XXII. p. 140, reproduces the substance of the Bull of institution by Urban IV. On the office composed by S. Thomas, see his life by William of Tocco, 18 (*Acta SS. Martii*, t. I. p. 685): "Scripsit officium de Corpore Christi de mandato Papae Urbani, in quo omnes quae de hoc sunt Sacramento veteres figuras exposuit, et veritates quae de nova sunt gratia compilavit." Urban IV had been formerly Archdeacon of Liège, before becoming Bishop of Verdun, and finally Pope. He was acquainted with the revelations experienced

of these two solemnities, the *temporale*, however much reduced and altered as regards its lectionary, is that of the ancient Roman Office.[1]

The *Sanctorale* sometimes begins with the title: *Incipit Proprium Sanctorum totius anni secundum usum Romanae Curiae*, but more often—*Incipiunt Festivitates Sanctorum per* (*totum*) *anni circulum.* The Common of saints has the title—*Incipit Commune Sanctorum*, with or without the addition—*per* (*totum*) *anni circulum.* The Common comprises the office of apostles, evangelists, one or many martyrs, confessors both bishops and otherwise, of virgins, martyrs and not martyrs, and of holy women, to which are added the offices of the dedication of the church, and of the Virgin Mary. The office of the dead is sometimes placed at the end of the psalter, but more often at the end of the Common of saints, after the office of the Blessed Virgin.

The office of saints' days, whether Common or Proper, includes in all cases nine lessons: festivals with only three lessons have gone out of use,[2] and the saints who are merely commemorated do not exceed half a dozen in number.[3] Of

by the Blessed Juliana of Mont Cornillon at Liège, the first of which go back to A.D. 1208. It is well known that Juliana had caused an office of the Blessed Sacrament to be composed by a young clerk of Liège, Brother John, whose innocency of life was great as his skill in letters was small, we are told in her life. The office, well or badly composed, was in use for some time locally (*Acta SS. Aprilis*, t. I. p. 460 *et seq.*). Dom Morin ("L'office Cistercien pour la Fête-Dieu comparé avec celui de Thomas d'Aquin," *Revue Bénédictine*, 1910, pp. 236-246) shows that S. Thomas borrowed more than had been supposed from this old Cistercian office.

[1] It should, however, be observed that the breviary of the Friars Minor drops the ancient vesper service peculiar to the octave of Easter (see p. 97). Radulph. 16: "Quas vesperas iidem Fratres male alteraverunt".

[2] [In places where this breviary of the Friars Minor was not adopted, festivals of three lessons held their ground. In the Sarum kalendar they are numerous, even in the sixteenth century.—A. B.]

[3] The *Ordo Romanus* XV. of Mabillon mentions a decretal of Clement VI (1342-52) which lays down the rule that each saint has a right to his festival, and consequently that the festival must be transferred in case of concurrence: "Tenet haec rubrica per Extravagantem D. Clementis Papae VI, qui ordinavit quod non fiat de sanctis aliqua commemoratio nec in duplicibus nec in semiduplicibus, sed quodlibet festum habeat diem suum prout alii sancti habent". I quote this passage as given in *Rubricae Novae*, Mercati, p. 14, where also follows: "Item praefatus Pontifex Maximus decrevit quod numquam fiat commemoratio alicujus festi eorum qui cadunt in majoribus et principalioribus festivitatibus, sed hujusmodi commemoratio transferatur, et suis locis et temporibus fiant de eo IX lectiones sicut de aliis festis. Etiam festum quantumcumque simplex fuerit nullo modo transeat per commemorationem, sed post in suo ordine celebretur cum IX lectionibus et responsoriis prout fit in aliis festis". This decretal of Clement VI was the cause of difficulties without number. Radulph. 17: "Dicti Fratres, extra usum antiquum Romanum, in novem lectionibus valde abutuntur, et eorum abusus non est sequendus, sed omnino detestandus".

these nine lessons, the first six are taken from the history of the saint; the other three generally from a homily on the gospel of the Mass.

The lessons taken from the lives of saints have always been a stumbling-block. I have found on the margin of late copies of the breviary annotations such as the following written against the legends of the saints—*Neutiquam . . . Fabula . . . Apocrypha . . . Falsa narratio . . . Fabula anilis . . . Officium stolidum et ridiculum.* These marginal notes are by clerks of the Renaissance. But long before the Renaissance, Ralph of Tongres reproached the breviary of the Minorites with having admitted apocryphal writings condemned in the list drawn up by Pope Gelasius, and acts such as those of S. George, S. Barbara, and S. Katherine—"apocryphal and contemptible works, full of incredible tales"—not to speak of a number of passions of saints inserted in particular local editions of the breviary, accepted without any discernment, which cannot safely be read in the office.[1]

The kalendar of saints in the thirteenth century is not so different as one might have supposed from that given in the twelfth century by the antiphonary of S. Peter's. Some names included in the latter have been eliminated from the kalendar of the *Curia*—about fifteen altogether.[2] Others have been added: such as SS. Basil, Paul the Hermit, Ignatius, Gilbert of Sempringham, Bernard, Justina, Remigius, Hilarion, Leonard, Vitalis and Agricola, Brice, Peter of Alexandria, Lucy, Thomas of Canterbury, and a group of early Popes, SS. Hyginus, Marcellinus, Felix, Sylverius, Zephyrinus, Pontianus, and Miltiades. The net increase is of barely ten festivals.

And further, it would be a mistake to suppose that the kalendar of the *Curia* suffered any great accretions from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. Before the end of the thirteenth century there were added to it the festivals of the Conception of our Lady,[3] of the three great Minorite saints,

[1] Radulph. 12.

[2] SS. Telesphorus, Aquilas, Papias, Simeon, Euplus and Leucius, Aura, Balbina, Thecla, Eustace, etc.

[3] When S. Thomas Aquinas was composing the *Pars Tertia* of his *Summa Theologica*, between 1268 and 1274, this festival had not been received at Rome. *Summ. Theol.* III. quest. XXVII. art. 2, ad 3: "Licet Romana Ecclesia conceptionem B. Virginis non celebret, tolerat tamen consuetudinem aliquarum Ecclesiarum illud festum celebrantium. Unde talis celebritas non est totaliter reprobanda." The feast of the Immaculate Conception was confirmed by Sixtus IV, in 1496. There was assigned to it the office of the Nativity of our Lady, with the needful verbal alteration, but we know also of the existence of a Proper

S. Francis (canonized in 1228), S. Clare (1255), and S. Anthony of Padua (1232), of S. Dominic (1234), and S. Peter Martyr (1253), of S. Elizabeth of Hungary (1235), and of S. Louis, King of France (1297). The fourteenth century added the festivals of the Stigmata of S. Francis (1304), of S. Thomas Aquinas (canonized 1323), of S. Louis, Bishop of Toulouse (1317), and of S. Mary of the Snows.[1] Towards the end of the fifteenth century, it is true, we notice in the first printed breviaries the accession of festivals in greater number—the Transfiguration (1457),[2] the Presentation of our Lady (1460),[3] the Visitation (1475),[4] SS. Bridget (1419), Nicholas de Tolentino (1447), Bernardin (1450), Vincent Ferrier (1455); also SS. Joseph, Anne, Juliana, Patrick, Anselm, and John Chrysostom, and perhaps a few more; but the upshot is that the number of festivals admitted by the Popes into the breviary of the *Curia* is a limited one—very limited, if we compare with it the

office, composed by Leonard of Nogarola, protonotary to Sixtus IV. See the text of this office in the breviary, MS. *Bibl. Nat.* 1314, fol. 620, and a letter from Leonard of Nogarola to Sixtus IV, *Vatican. Lat.* 7692, fol. 2.

[1] See *Bibl. Nat.* 1050 (A.D. 1478), fol. 374: "Incipiunt Festa noviter promulgata fidelibus, et primo ad honorem S. atque Individuae Trinitatis". After this we find: "Officium Corporis D. N. J. C. secundum consuetudinem S. Romanae Ecclesiae". Then follow the Visitation, S. Mary of the Snows, and lastly the Conception of our Lady. Cf. Radulph. 22: "Sed Fratres . . . in eorum usu adducunt locales Romanos"—and he gives a list, relating to the end of the fourteenth century, and not, I think, free from exaggeration.

[2] Martene, *De ant. eccl. discipl.* p. 375: "Cujus institutionem Callixto Papae III refert Platina: additque ab eodem conscriptum esse officium ecclesiasticum de ea die, et cum indulgentiis promulgatum iisdem quae concessae sunt in solemnitate Corporis Christi. Callixti Bullam protulit Odoricus Rainaldus ad annum 1457, n. 73. Verum longe antiquiorem esse hanc festivitatem constat." See the Bull of Callixtus III in Baronius-Raynaldi, *Annales*, t. x. pp. 128-32 (see above, p. 135).

[3] Martene, op. cit. p. 594: "Pium II, ad instantiam Willelmi Ducis Saxoniae, 21 mensis Novembris idem festum cum vigilia celebrandum instituisse anno 1460 [refert Scultingus]." There is a Bull of Paul II on the subject, September 16th, 1464.

[4] *ibid.* op. cit. p. 571: "Circa hujus diei officium haec ex veteri Breviario Romano scribit Scultingus: Hujus gloriosae Visitationis officii compositionem Urbanus VI domino Adae Cardinali Angliae doctori in theologia commisit, ut ex Scripturis evangelicis, SS. Patrum commentariis et Doctorum approbatorum assertionibus historiam hujus festi Visitationis scriberet et dictaret, et eidem officio notam congruam applicaret. Volens quoque Cardinalis praefatus vestigia Patrum sequi, et mandatis Apostolicis obedire, juxta dictamen domini Bonaventurae Cardinalis de officio S. Francisci, praedictum officium compilavit, et notam consimilem sibi sumpsit." The Cardinal alluded to is Adam Easton. Bäumer, t. II. p. 109. Mercati, p. 19, quotes the text of one of the *Rubricae Novae*, which dates the institution of the feast of the Visitation, with the rank of a double, from April 13th in the eleventh year of Urban VI (1389). The Bull of Urban VI was confirmed by Boniface IX, November 9th, 1389. But the rubric goes on to say—[Curia] non consuevit facere officium Visitationis Mariae, i.e. at about A.D. 1400. The observance of the festival was only imposed under Sixtus IV in 1475.

number of festivals which the breviaries which are not strictly of the *Curia* admitted into their kalendars.[1]

But if the feasts of the *Sanctorale*, in the office of the Roman *Curia*, have not increased immoderately in number, they have at all events been advanced in rank.[2] All the festivals of our Lady are now greater doubles, equal in rank to Christmas and Easter; so are those of S. Peter, S. John Baptist, and All Saints. The festivals of the apostles, evangelists, and doctors,[3] S. Laurence, S. Michael, All Souls' Day, the dedication of the basilicas of S. Peter, S. Paul, and the Lateran, both feasts of the Holy Cross,[4] the octave days of S. Peter, of the Assumption and of the Nativity of our Lady, are doubles. Sundays are no more than semi-doubles. We may reckon that the number of festivals of nine lessons amounted to nearly 150 by the end of the thirteenth century, on all which festivals, to say nothing of octaves, the ferial office was thrust aside.

Then, further, the daily office was burdened with the little office of our Lady, to be said every day, except on the greater festivals, the last three days of Holy Week, the octave of Easter, and the feasts of our Lady.[5] The ferial office is also burdened with the office of the dead, and the recitation of the penitential and gradual psalms.[6] It also included the *preces* at lauds, vespers, and the little hours.[7]

[1] For instance, "the Wisdom of our Lord," *Bibl. Nat.* 1345; "the Finding of the Child Jesus," *Bibl. Nat.* 1144; "the Name of Jesus," *Bibl. Nat.* 13,244; "the Sisters of the Virgin Mary," *ibid.*—all of the fifteenth century.

[2] See further on, p. 175, the extract from the *Rubricae Novae* on the rank of festivals.

[3] Namely, the "four Doctors" SS. Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory. Their feasts were elevated to the rank of doubles by Boniface VII: "Anno Domini 1295 statuit festa Apostolorum, quatuor Evangelistarum ac quatuor Doctorum, viz. Gregorii, Augustini, Ambrosii et Jeronimi, sub honore festi duplicis ab omnibus universaliter celebrari." *L.P.* t. II. p. 469.

[4] See the MS. *Bib. Nat.* 16,309, fol. 322: "Incipit officium S. Crucis, completum a Fratre Bonaventura ad preces domini Ludovici". Also *Bib. Mag.* 366, fol. 293 (the folios are, however, not numbered): "Inventio S. Crucis est duplex festum, et habet officium proprium secundum Curiam Romanam . . . quod officium publicatum fuit et mandatum celebrari per Ss. dominum nostrum Gregorium XI, penultima Aprilis, 1377". Cf. Mercati, p. 17.

[5] The *Constitutiones Lateranenses* of Gregory XI (1370-78) enjoin on the canons of the Lateran basilica, along with the daily recitation *cum nota* of the breviary of the *Curia*, the recitation *sine nota* of the office of our Lady: "Officium B. Mariae Virginis sine nota, aperte tamen et spatiose, proferatur". *Const. Lat.* I. (Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* II. 577).

[6] But the penitential psalms (said after prime) were only recited in Lent: "Hoc officium dici debet post Primam . . . ut vidi notatum in quodam Ordinario Romano. Sed Innocentius III mandavit suis capellaribus ut solum in Quadragesima diceretur, et hoc sequuntur Fratres Minores". Radulph. 21.

[7] See the following passage in the breviary of S. Clare: "Dominus Papa Innocentius pracepit, quum ad Matutinas Laudes in ferialibus dicitur *Miserere Mei Deus* in inceptione (i.e. as the first psalm at lauds), in suffragiis ipsius

It is true that, as early as the fourteenth century it was felt how burdensome all these additions were: Ralph of Tongres reproaches the Minorites with being exceedingly lax with regard to their obligation to recite the office of our Lady; he also charges them with having multiplied the feasts of nine lessons,[1] in order to get rid of the obligation to recite the penitential and gradual psalms, and the office of the dead—"to whom they are thereby the cause of perpetual injury".[2]

And we have not yet come to the end of these pious acts of supererogation: Durandus notes that a "laudable custom" has been introduced, that a priest, reciting the canonical hours, shall say *Pater noster* in a low voice both before beginning and after finishing the office. In like manner, at the beginning and end of the hours of the Blessed Virgin, he is to say an *Ave*.[3]

Again, every day, after compline, there is to be recited an antiphon to the Blessed Virgin, varying according to the season. John of Parma, in the letter already quoted, enumerates the four

Laudum, post capitula in fine diceretur psalmus *De profundis*, et post, capitula *Domine Deus virtutum, Exurge Christe, Domine exaudi orationem.* In omnibus aliis horis, dictis capitulis dicitur psalmus *Miserere mei Deus* cum *Gloria*, postea, *Domine deus virtutum, Exurge Christe, Dominus vobiscum, Excita Domine quaesumus* vel alia oratio qui competit. Canticum Graduum dicitur ante omnia officia. Et post Laudes diei dicuntur Laudes pro defunctis. Post Vesperas autem diei Vesperas dicimus defunctorum. Ante Completorium facimus vigilias trium lectionum pro defunctis." Cholat, p. 58.

[1] Mercati, p. 13, notes (in reference to the Bull of Clement VI) that John XXII (1316-34) had already dealt a severe blow at the ferial office of the season by altering the *status* of simple feasts or feasts of three lessons, and raising them to the rank of feasts of nine lessons, which meant the substitution of the saints' day office for that of the feria. He quotes the following passage from the *Rubriae Novae*: "De festivitatibus III lectionum nulla fit mentio, quoniam prorsus abusae sunt, et juxta mandatum Ss. D.D. Joannis Papae XXII [qui] jussit fieri IX lectiones, nisi officium fierit de feria". Clement VI (1342-52) went further, in decreeing that, instead of a mere commemoration of a saints' day, there should be recited for it an office of nine lessons, to be said on the first free day.

[2] Radulph. 15, 21, 22.

[3] Durand, *Rationale*, v. 2, 6: "Laudabili consuetudine inductum est ut sacerdos, ante Canonicarum horarum initia et in fine, Dominicam orationem (the reading in the text, *Dominice orationis*, is, I believe, an error), et ante horas B. M. V. et in fine *Ave Maria* voce submissa praemittat". See the epitome of the history of the *Ave Maria* in Dom Berlière, article "(Salutation) Angelique" in *Dictionnaire de Théologie*. It is well-known that the addition of the final clause, *Sancta Maria*, etc., dates from the end of the fifteenth century only, whereas the actual text of the Angelic Salutation *Ave Maria* is found in devotional use from the twelfth. The custom of saying *Pater* and *Ave* at the beginning of each of the hours only makes its appearance at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Grancolas, p. 74: "Additamentum *Sancta Maria* in nulla precum formula ante annum 1508 reperitur: tunc vero usurpari coeptum, *Sancta Maria, Mater Dei, ora pro nobis peccatoribus. Amen.* Franciscani addiderunt postea, *et in hora mortis nostrae*, atque ita in Breviario anni 1515 legitur; eaque de caussa Cardinalis S. Crucis, qui Franciscanus fuerat, Breviario suo inseruit, Piusque Papa V *Ave* et *Sancta* cum Franciscanorum additamento Romano Breviario inseri voluit".

antiphons adopted by the Minorites—the *Regina coeli*, *Alma Redemptoris*, *Ave Regina* and *Salve Regina*.[1] They were adopted by the Popes in 1350.

To recapitulate—we have now spoken of (1) the kalendar, (2) the psalter, (3) the Proper of the season, (4) the Proper and Common of the saints, (5) the office of our Lady and of the dead—the five constituent parts of the breviary of the *Curia* and the Friars Minor.[2] In addition to these we have the rubrics, classified in two groups. Their place in the volume has nothing fixed about it.

First there are the *Rubricae generales Breviarii veteres appellatae*, or *Rubrica Major Breviarii Romani*. These begin with the words "*Adventus Domini celebratur ubicunque*," etc. This group of rubrics is the more ancient: it goes back to the time of Aymo, and the edition of the breviary put forth by him, in 1241.[3]

Then there are the *Rubricae novae secundum formam et consuetudinem Romanae Curiae, editae per diversos summos pontifices*, or *Rubricae novae et declarationes quaedam super officio divino secundum Romanam Curiam*, or simply *Rubricae novae*. They begin—"*Sciendum est quod nulla historia vocatur*," etc.

The *Rubricae novae*, writes Mgr. Mercati, are arranged by months, December to December, with an appendix on the feast of the Holy Trinity, on the antiphons of our Lady, on saints' days and their degrees of solemnity, and on festivals of obligation: the object of these rubrics is to resolve doubts, by

[1] Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, t. III. p. 208. The *Regina coeli* is an antiphon at Paschal vespers, which, in the twelfth century, already finds a place in the antiphonary of S. Peter's. Tomasi, t. IV. p. 100. The *Salve Regina*, made popular in the twelfth century by S. Bernard, is the work of a monk of Reichenau, Hermann Contract (*d.* 1054). W. Brambach, *Die verloren geglaubte Historia de S. Afra und des Salve Regina des Hermannus Contractus* (Karlsruhe, 1892), pp. 13-14. The origin of the *Ave Regina* is unknown, as is also that of the six hexameter lines of which the *Alma Redemptoris* is composed (qy. by Hermann Contract?). Mercati, p. 23, quotes from the *Rubricae novae* the information that the *Alma* was sung from Advent to Candlemas, the *Salve* from Candlemas to Holy Week, the *Regina caeli* from Easter to the eve of Trinity Sunday, and the *Ave Regina* from Trinity to Advent: "Quas quidem antiphonas Clemens VI Pont. Max. ordinavit, et in Urbe statuit pontificatus sui anno VIII°" (1350). This arrangement lasted until the reform of Pius V. Mercati also quotes some words from the *Chronica XXIV Generalium O. M.* which mention the reception of the four antiphons by John of Parma, at the General Chapter at Metz (1249), as an exceptional departure from the *ordinario S. Matris Ecclesiae*.

[2] Breviaries sometimes contain, along with the office of the dead, an *Ordo ad communicandum infirmum*, an *Ordo ad ungendum infirmum*, an *Ordo commendationis animae*, an *Ordo ad benedicendam mensam*, and *Benedictio salis et aquae*. See MS. *Bib. Nat.* 756 (A.D. 1406).

[3] Hilarin [Felder], pp. 442-3.

alleging the decrees of Popes, or actual precedents, and they are for the most part "an application of the lost decretal of Clement VI, which, by suppressing the simple *commemoration* of saints, and giving a day and an office to all festivals of saints, practically led the way to the abolition of the ordinary office *de tempore*".[1]

We have now described this breviary, and from our description it will be seen that the Divine Office, as accommodated by the *Curia* and the Minorites to the wants of the clergy of their time, has been very much cut down. It is no longer made for singing in choir, but for reciting as you go along the high road. For all that, the antiphonary, the responsoral, the *Ordo psallendi* and the *Ordo legendi* of old times have been preserved, and the hymnal has been added: but the lectionary has been corrupted. And if we owe a just debt of gratitude to those who have given us the antiphons of our Lady, what are we to say, on the other hand, of the supererogatory offices?

It is difficult not to see in these additions of adventitious devotions, so numerous and so burdensome, a grave wrong done to the canonical office itself. But there is a graver wrong still: the festivals of saints have been multiplied to such a degree as to make the *Temporale*, which is the very foundation of the Roman Office, a thing condemned to desuetude—to say nothing of the whole year being loaded with translations of festivals.[2]

The councils of the fifteenth century vie with one another in deploring the coldness with which the clergy perform their duty of reciting the canonical office, even in choir. They do not, as it seems, sufficiently recognize the fact that this coldness, this scandalous negligence, proceeds in part from the deterioration of the office itself, and especially from these burdensome additions for which the devotion of a saint would scarce suffice.[3] "The Divine Office," writes Martin of Senging to the Council of Basle in 1435, "is recited in disorderly fashion, in haste,

[1] In the *Bulletin de la Soc. Nat. des Antiquaires de France*, 1893, pp. 147-52, M. Desloge and myself have for the first time called attention to the rubrics which bear the name of a Pope, from the MS. of Lyons 468 (end of 15th century)—a Roman breviary of the use of Avignon. Mgr. Mercati has identified the authorship of the *Rubricae novae* with that of the *Ordo Romanus* xv. of Mabillon, which is the work of Peter Amelio (*d.* 1401), continued by Peter Assalbiti (*d.* 1440), both of them Augustinians and sacrists of the Pope. The *Ordo Romanus* xv. is dependent on the *Rubricae novae*, but, in Mgr. Mercati's opinion, the latter is entirely the work of Peter Amelio himself.

[2] Radulph. 22: "Ex qua observantia (viz. the translation of feasts of nine lessons) evenit in usu eorum (the Friars Minor) continua perturbatio et magna confusio".

[3] *ibid.* 10: "Suscipite igitur suave jugum Domini, quod a S. Sede Romana vobis imponitur, licet importabile videatur".

without devotion, and with a perverse intention, viz. an itching desire to get to the end of it: the clergy even go so far as to prefer to the canonical office itself the superfluous additions which are tacked on to it."[1] No doubt reform must include the reformation of the clergy, but it must mean also the reformation of the office, the cutting away of excrescences, the restoration of what has been lost: neither Martin of Senging nor the Council of Basle have any thought of this second part of the task of reform. Ralph of Tongres alone seems to have got hold of the just view of the case, when he denounced the deterioration of the office, both in its text and in its rubrics. He accuses the Minorites of being the authors and their breviary the instrument of their deterioration. "They called their breviary," he says, "the breviary according to the use of the Roman *Curia*, without concerning themselves about what was the use of the Roman *Church*". And he adds—"The Roman Church was once celebrated and glorious, living waters sprang out from under her feet, whence as from their fountain, were derived all ecclesiastical rules". He appeals from the liturgy of the Minorites to that set forth by Amalarius, the *Micrologus*, and the "old books".[2] Above all, he appeals to a reform which should take its beginning from Rome.[3]

With this liturgical deterioration we arrive at the end of the Middle Ages. The printing press receives the Roman breviary from the hands of the Roman *Curia*.[4] We are come to about

[1] Martin of Senging, *Tuitiones pro observantia Regulae*, in Pez, *Bibliotheca Ascetica* (Ratisbon, 1725), t. VIII. p. 545. Cf. Nicolas de Clemangis, *De novis celebritatibus non instituendis*, in his *Opera Omnia* (Leyden, 1613), pp. 143-60. He is dealing with feasts of obligation. Against the multiplication of festivals, we may recall the severe words of S. Bernard, *Epist.* CLXXIV. 6: "Patriae est, non exsilii, frequentia haec gaudiorum, et numerositas festorum cives decet, non exsules".

[2] Radulph. 22: "Celebris olim et gloriosa erat Romana Ecclesia, ut de sub ejus pede efflluerent aquae vivae, et velut ex fonte rivi tam rerum omnium faciendarum quam ecclesiasticae regulae emanarent. Inde est quod omnes scripturae nobis injungunt ut illius sequamur authoritatem, et ordinem teneamus". And he concludes, at the end of his proposition 22: "In officio ergo divino ordinem S. Romanae Ecclesiae observabimus si, Fratrum usu omisso, sacros canones, scripturas authenticas, consuetudines locorum generales, et in dubiis libros (the text reads *libris*) antiquiores sequamur".

[3] *Ibid.* 12: "Donec de Urbe veniat quod erit magis perfectum".

[4] In L. Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum* (Stuttgart, 1826), will be found a descriptive list of Roman breviaries printed before 1500: Turin, 1474; Venice, '74; Lyons, '76; Naples, '77; Rome, '77; Venice, '77; Venice, '78; Venice, *iterum*, '78; Venice, '79; Venice, *iterum*, '79; Nonantola, '80; Venice, '81; Venice, *iterum*, '81; *sine loco*, '82; Venice, 82; Venice, *iterum*, '82; Venice, *tertio*, '82; Nuremburg, '86; Venice, '86; Venice, '89; Venice, '90; Venice, *iterum*, '90; Venice, '91; *sine loco*, '92; Pavia, '94; Venice, '94; Venice, *iterum*, '94; Venice, '96; Brescia, '97; Venice, '97; Venice, *iterum*, '97; Venice, *tert o*, '97; Turin, '99; Venice, '99. (Hain. nos. 3887-3927).

A.D. 1500, and this breviary of the *Curia* has now been in existence for about three centuries. Will the wishes of Ralph of Tongres be realized, and a return be made to the liturgy of the eighth century? Or for these changed times will some new sort of *euchologium* be produced? Or is this book of the thirteenth century destined to endure?

EXCURSUS B.

EXTRACTS FROM THE *RUBRICAE NOVAE* (Mercati, *Appunti*, pp. 24-26).

RUBRICA SUPER FESTIVITATIBUS TOTIUS ANNI CUM EARUM DIVISIONIBUS.

Advertendum est in primis, quod illud censetur esse FESTUM SOLENNE, quod in civitatibus, villis et quibusve aliis locis celebratur a clericis, et mechanici ob reverentiam illius festi de consensu seu approbatione episcopi cessant ab opere mechanico.

Notandum preterea quod festivitates totius anni in tres partes principales dividuntur, s. in duplices et semiduplices et simplices, et quelibet pars dividitur in duas. Nam prima pars dividitur in maiorem duplicem et minorem duplicem, secunda in maiorem semiduplicem et minorem, et tertia in maiorem simplicem et minorem.

Hec sunt festa prime partis [s.] MAIORA DUPLICIA, videlicet,

Nativitas Domini, Octava eiusdem, Epiphania,

Purificatio virginis Marie et omnes festivitates eiusdem virginis,

Resurrectio Domini, Ascensio, Pentecostes, festum Trinitatis, Corporis Christi,

Nativitatis s. Ioannis Baptiste, Apostolorum Petri et Pauli,

Transfigurationis Domini, festum inventionis et exaltationis s. Crucis,

Festum proprii loci vel dedicationis eiusdem ecclesie.

Hec omnia duplicantur, et sacerdos induitur in principio vesperorum et campana ter pulsatur.

Addunt etiam alii omnes dies dominicos.

Hec sunt festa secunde partis, S. MINORA DUPLICIA:

Festum s. Stephani protomartyris, Ioannis evangelistae,

In cena Domini et sabbato sancto, vigilia Pentecostes, prima dies et secunda post dominicam Resurrectionis et Pentecostes,

Conversionis s. Pauli, cathedra s. Petri, commemoratio s. Pauli, octava Apostolorum Petri et Pauli,

Festum s. Laurentii,

Octava Corporis Christi, octava visitationis, assumptionis et nativita(ti)s gloriose virginis Mariae,

In s. Petri ad vincula,

Dedicatio s. Michaelis, dedicatio basilice Salvatoris,

Festa apostolorum, evangelistarum et doctorum.

In quibus omnes antiphone duplicantur, sacerdos vero in principio vesperorum non induitur sed a capitulo in antea, et campana ter pulsatur.

Est autem advertendum quod, si eodem die maius duplex et minus duplex festum occurrerit, minus duplex transfertur; et in secundis vesperis totum fiat de maiori duplici cum commemoratione minoris duplicis.

Hec sunt festa tertie partis, seu MAIORIS SEMIDUPLICIS:

Festum ss. Innocentum,

Octava s. Stephani et s. Ioannis evangeliste, octava Epiphanie, octava s. Ioannis Baptiste, octava Ascensionis,

Apparitio s. Michaelis, festum s. Marie Magdalene,

Octava s. Laurentii,

Decollationis Ioannis Baptiste, s. Martini et quecumque missa b. Maria Virginis, que in sabbato celebratur.

Hec sunt festa quarte partis s. MINORIS SEMIDUPLICIS:

Festum s. Nicolai, s. Lucie,

Vigilia natalis Domini, festum s. Antonii, a festo Innocentum usque ad octavam natalis Domini,

Agnetis primo, Agathe, Benedicti, Ioannis et Pauli,

A commemoratione sancti Pauli usque ad octavam Apostolorum,

A festo Assumptionis usque ad octavam eius,

A festo Corporis Christi usque ad octavam eius,

A festo Visitationis usque ad octavam eius,

A festo nativitatis b. Marie usque ad octavam eius,

Festum s. Clementis, s. Blasii, s. Cecilie, et s. Catharine.

Hec sunt festa quinte partis, s. MAIORA SIMPLICIA:

Et sunt que habent officium proprium in missa: et si duo venerint eadem die, primo agitur de primo usque ad capitulum in secundis vesperis, de secundo agitur a capitulo in antea, nisi alie rubrice speciales invenirentur,

Hec sunt festa sexte partis:

Et sunt omnia alia superius non assignata, et vocantur festa MINORA SIMPLICIA, et semper fit de festo precedenti usque ad capitulum in secundis vesperis, et a capitulo in antea fit de festo sequenti.

De festivitatibus trium lectionum nulla fit mentio, quoniam prorsus abuse sunt, et iuxta mandatum sanctissimi d. d. Ioannis pape XXII iussit fieri novem lectiones, nisi officium fieret de feria.

CHAPTER V.

THE BREVIARY OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

I.

THE breviary played too intimate a part in the daily life of the clergy, and that life was too widely and deeply affected by the Renaissance, for no question to arise at Rome at that period concerning the breviary. That question was first raised by the humanists.

Erasmus, who visited Rome in 1509, treasured a memory of it which enchanted his erudite and refined intelligence. "*Quam mellifluas eruditorum hominum confabulationes, quot mundi lumina!*" he exclaims when thinking of it, and he loves to recall the high esteem which he saw conferred upon "good studies," in that "peaceable home of the Muses, the common fatherland of all men of letters". The freedom of the city of Rome had been conferred upon humanism by Nicolas V (1447-55), and it reigned there under Pius II (1458-64), and still more under Leo X (1513-21), who had as secretaries Bembo and Sadoleto, and whose desire was that "whatever was to be heard or read should be expressed in really pure Latin, full of spirit and elegance". Bembo's one ideal was to write in the style of what another Cardinal, Adrian of Corneto, called "the immortal and almost divine age of Cicero". The revival of the Latin language extended itself to poetry and oratory. Sannazar, "the Christian Virgil," beloved of Leo X and Clement VII (1523-34), makes the shepherds of Bethlehem sing round the manger-cradle of the Saviour the Fourth Eclogue! One Good Friday, preaching before the Pope, the most famous orator of the Pontifical Court considered that he could not better praise the sacrifice of Calvary than by relating the self-devotion of Decius and the sacrifice of Iphigenia.[1] Here there is manifested a

[1] P. de Nolhac, *Erasme en Italie* (Paris, 1888), p. 76. J. Burckhardt, *La civilisation en Italie au temps de la Renaissance*, French edition (Paris, 1885), t. I. pp. 277, 311-17.

lack of zest for true piety, to say nothing of an absence of all sense of good taste, by which the breviary was bound to suffer. In the eyes of these superfine scholars, in love with Ciceronianism and mythology, what sort of figure would be made by our old chief chanters of S. Peter's—Catalenus, Maurianus and Virbonus?

To this perverted literary taste the Roman *Curia* was tempted to accommodate its breviary. The initiative of this design belongs to Leo X, the execution of it to a Neapolitan bishop, a fellow-countryman of Sannazar, by name Zacharia Ferreri, Bishop of Guarda, and the approbation of it to Clement VII.[1] A start was made by the publication of a hymnal: it was no more than a sample, but it was intended to prepare the way for the publication of an "ecclesiastical breviary, made much shorter and more convenient, and purged from all errors": for such seem to have been the terms of the commission given to Ferreri by Leo X.

In fact, if we wish to know in what spirit it was intended to abridge, simplify and expurgate the traditional liturgy, we have only to cast our eyes over the hymnal of Ferreri, the first stone of the projected edifice. The title reads: *Hymni novi ecclesiastici juxta veram metri et latinitatis normam . . . Sanctum et necessarium opus.* Then we have the approbation of Clement VII, couched in fine Ciceronian phrases:—

> Etsi a teneris annis nobis semper cordi vehementer fuerit bonarum disciplinarum sacrae praecipue doctrinae exercitia, et in eis se cum optimo virtutum odore versantes omni studio fovere et specialis amoris gratia complecti, id tamen animo nostro longe vehementius inhaesit, postquam, etc.

and granting by his apostolic authority leave to read and employ these new hymns even *in divinis.* Then comes Ferreri's preface, in which he anticipates the charge which some might bring against him, of having dared, in opposition to the judgment of S. Augustine and S. Gregory, to submit the words of the sacred oracles (*verba sacri oraculi*) to the rules of Donatus,

[1] The following is the title of Ferreri's book: Zachariae Ferrerii, Vicent., Pont. Gardien., Hymni novi ecclesiastici juxta veram metri et latinitatis normam, a Beatiss. Patre Claemente VII Pont. Max. ut in divinis quisque eis uti possit approbati, et novis Ludovici Vicentini ac Lautitii Perusini characteribus in lucem traditi. Sanctum et necessarium opus. Breviarium ecclesiasticum ab eodem Zach. Pont., longe brevius et facilius redditum, et ab omni errore purgatum, prope diem exibit (*Bib. Nat.* 4to Y. 1693, Réserve). Finished printing, February 1st, 1525. Clement VII's brief of approbation is dated November 30th, 1523; it is printed at the head of the book. Ferreri had been Papal Nuncio in Germany, as this brief tells us, and as we also read in the panegyric on Ferreri by Marinus Becichemus prefixed to the book.

and the interpretation of the holy writings to the authority of Quintilian: but, says he, if it is possible to introduce true latinity and the classical style into divine worship, is it not contrary to all reason to prefer to it the barbarisms of a style devoid of taste (*barbariem et insulsam orationem amplectamur*)? For his part, he is content to justify himself by the esteem of Leo X, to whom he submitted each one of his hymns as fast as he composed them, and who read and approved them all (*singulos quidem hymnos prout a me quotidie prodibant perlegit ac probavit*). Here then we are definitely assured that this liturgical experiment is really a thing devised and set on foot by Leo X, Clement VII, and their court; nor do they fail here to intimate to us that its execution surpasses their expectation: Ferreri has gained thereby, not immortality, but eternal glory (*aeternitatem proculdubio consecuturum*).

The hymns of Ferreri have been judged with more severity than justice. I have before my eyes his pretty little volume, printed in a letter of rare typographical elegance. Most assuredly I am far from loving this laboured poetry, redolent of classical reminiscences and full of clever tricks of versification: as when he sings of the Holy Innocents in Sapphics:—

Hos velut flores veniens pruina
Coxit, et gratum Superis odorem
Reddere effecit, meritoque summis
Condidit astris.

or the Blessed Virgin Mary in Iambic dimeters:—

Ave, superna janua,
Ave, beata semita,
Salus periclitantibus
Et ursa navigantibus!

or S. Peter in the Asclepiad stanza:—

Tu, Petre, et reseras caelica limina
Et claudis, sapiens arbiter omnium;
Dum terris animas solvis et alligas,
Firmatur super aethera.[1]

[1] [For the benefit of any reader not familiar with Latin, I venture to repeat here the English versions of these stanzas which I gave in my former translation of Mgr. Batiffol's work:—

These were the flowers that fell before the north wind;
Yet did its blast but summon forth their fragrance
Dear to the skies, and called them to the glory
Stored in the heavens.

Hail, Mary, hail! thou door of Heav'n
And pathway to our home afar!
In danger bringing safety near,
Upon earth's sea a guiding star.

One can better relish the rude Christian originals of which these verses are imitations, correct, clever, and insipid. But did not Urban VIII, a century later, take up the same task of metrical correction, and has he not in like manner disfigured, in the attempt to improve them, the ancient hymns which we still read in our breviary in the form they assumed under his correcting hand? And if there is in the poetry of Ferreri too much about Phoebus, Olympus, Styx, Quirites, Penates, and *astra aetherea;* if there are Lenten stanzas such as this :—

Bacchus abscedat, Venus ingemiscat,
Nec jocis ultra locus est, nec escis,
Nec maritali thalamo, nec ulli
Ebrietati.[1]

and hymns for S. Francis of Assisi with such verses as :—

Ibat in sylvas tacitosque saltus
Solus, ut caelum satius liceret
Visere, et mundas agitari dulci
Pectore curas.[2]

we must at all events acknowledge that he has the virtues of his defects, that purity of language and that elegance of workmanship, which justly delighted his contemporaries, and an ingenuity sometimes sufficiently happy in its expression to be capable of stirring our hearts still. As in the hymn for S. Gregory the Great :—

Roma, quae tantum decus edidisti,
Quid triumphales meditaris arcus?
Cogita magnum peperisse mundo
Gregorium te![3]

Thou, Peter, openest wisely the heav'nly door;
Thou also closest, of all things the arbiter:
Binding or loosing the soul here on earth below,
Thy word stands firm for aye above.—A. B.]

[1] [I hardly, I think, travesty this preposterous stanza in rendering it thus :—

Hence with thee, Bacchus! Venus, fall a-weeping!
Here's no more place for laughter or for feasting;
Nor for the joys of marriage, nor for any
Drunkenness either.—A. B.]

[2] [The hymn for S. Francis is of a more pleasing character :—

Far in the greenwood's shadow and its silence,
Lonely he walked, while Heaven itself grew nearer;
Pure were the thoughts that in his gentle bosom
Rose, and were cherished.—A. B.]

[3] [Rome, who hast gained so great a height of glory,
Why on triumphal arches dost thou ponder?
This may suffice—that thou hast shown the dark world
Gregory's splendour!—A. B.]

What was deplorable in this experiment of Ferreri's was the whole state of mind which produced it, the ignorance of all liturgical tradition, and utter aversion to the study of it. "*Soli barbarizamus!*" he exclaimed. And it is melancholy to see churchmen so enslaved to their Ciceronianism that Ferreri could write in the preface to his hymnal the following passage, on which no one seems to have remarked, but which constitutes indeed the condemnation of his times:—

Qui bona latinitate praediti sunt sacerdotes, dum barbaris vocibus Deum laudare coguntur, in risum provocati sacra saepenumero contemnunt.[1]

One wonders—what would the breviary of the humanists have been like? The terrible blow which fell upon the Eternal City in 1527, that frightful sack of Rome by the Spanish and German army of Charles V, dispenses us from following up the inquiry, and from pausing to pass further judgment on the frivolity of that band of wits and scholars. Graver thoughts and forebodings now made themselves felt, rendered still more pressing by the echoes of the voice of Luther. Sadoleto, from his retirement in France, wrote thus: "If our misfortunes have disarmed the fierce anger of Heaven, if only these terrible chastisements make us return to the path of right conduct and the observance of wise laws, our situation, it may be, will be less cruel. . . . Let us seek in God the true glory of sacerdotal dignity."[2]

When Ferreri died, Clement VII did not give up the notion of presenting to the Church that "ecclesiastical breviary, brief, convenient, and purged from all errors," which he had hoped

[1] "Priests who are acquainted with good latinity, when they are compelled to praise God in such barbarous language, are moved to laughter, and frequently led to despise sacred rites altogether." Compare the utterances of Becichemus, in his introduction to Ferreri's hymnal:—

"Vides, mi lector, quos passim canunt in templis hymnos, uti sunt omnes fere mendosi, inepti, barbarie referti, nullaque pedum ratione, nullo syllabarum mensu compositi, ut ad risum eruditos concitent, et ad contemptum ecclesiastici ritus vel litteratos sacerdotes inducant. Nam caeteri, qui sunt sacri patrimonii heluones, sine scientia, sine sapientia, satis habent ut dracones stare juxta arcam Domini," etc.

"You see, reader, what hymns are everywhere sung in the churches, how faulty they almost all are, and how silly; full of barbarisms, written without any regard to scansion or to the quantity of the syllables; so that they move learned men to laughter, and bring the rites of the Church into contempt, at all events with educated priests. For, as for the rest, who are mere gobblers-up of the Church's patrimony, with as little wit as learning, they think it quite enough to stand by the ark of the Lord like dragons," etc.

[2] Quoted by J. Burckhardt, t. 1, p. 156.

to obtain from the Bishop of Guarda. But the leading ideas were changed: the object now was not so much to satisfy the fastidious taste of scholars, as to meet the wishes of those in favour of a more scrupulous type of religion. He cast his eyes, for the execution of this project, on a grave and devout man, whose nationality, which was Spanish, and his religious profession, that of the Franciscans, seemed to promise preservation from all contagion of frivolity. Francis Quignonez, of the family of the Counts of Luna, entered the Order of S. Francis when young, and in 1522 the Chapter of the Order made him its General. Immediately after this, Charles V, whose confessor he was, had sent him to Rome, to treat with Clement VII on certain very delicate affairs, we are told—and delicate enough, in fact, since the matter to be dealt with was the reconciliation of the Emperor with the Pope. Quignonez was successful: and, in reward, he received in 1529 the Cardinal's hat, with the title of Holy-Cross-in-Jerusalem.[1]

Quignonez understood that what Clement VII asked of him was "so to arrange the canonical hours as to bring them back as far as possible to their ancient form, to remove from the office prolixities and difficult details: it was to be faithful to the institutions of the ancient Fathers, and the clergy were to have no longer any reason for revolting against the duty of reciting the canonical prayers". So he expresses himself in the preface to his breviary. We see that the idea of the Roman *Curia* has been perceptibly modified: it is no longer a question of praying according to the rules of "true latinity," but in accordance with "the institutions of the ancient Fathers"—not to flatter the Ciceronianism of the clergy, but to enjoin on them an office against which they should have no ground for objection.

And yet, a dangerous novelty surely, thus to speak of reforms to be carried out by a return to antiquity, while what antiquity is meant is not expressed, nor the method to be followed in returning to it! Was not this just such a way of speaking as had been employed by the Protestant Reformers? And this echo of their protestations, met with at Rome, is one indication among many of the fact that, at a particular moment in its history, this Roman *Curia*, itself so fiercely attacked by these violent theorists, was, after all, the medium in the whole

[1] F. Arevalo, *De hymnodia Hispanica* (Rome, 1785), pp. 385 *et seq.* "Historia uberior de fatis Breviarii Quignoniani". Republished by Roskovany, t. XI. pp. 3-47.

of Catholicity the most attentive to their grievances, the most ready to listen to them, and to respond to their reproaches in a spirit of fairness.

Cardinal Quignonez began his work in 1529. It has been proved that he had several assistants: Diego Neyla, Canon of Salamanca, a canonist and Hellenist; another learned Spaniard, Gaspar de Castro; and perhaps a third, better known than the others, Genesius de Sepulveda.[1] At the death of Clement VII (September 25th, 1534) the constitution of the new breviary was not yet agreed upon: that point was not reached until 1535, under Paul III.

And even then, the new breviary appeared at first in the form of a project submitted to public judgment. Quignonez says himself, and we may fully believe him, that he had no other intention than "to open a public discussion with a view to collecting several opinions on the subject". This first form of the breviary of Quignonez is now hardly to be met with, although from February, 1535, to July, 1536, there appeared no less than eight editions of it, at Rome, Paris, Lyons, Venice, and Antwerp. Not long ago the University of Cambridge had the happy thought of reprinting it.[2]

The criticisms for which Quignonez had asked did not fail to make their appearance: the Sorbonne in particular signalized itself by issuing a severe censure, in which the grounds for condemnation were fully stated, July 27th, 1535.[3] "Where-

[1] Arevalo, in Roskovany, t. XI. pp. 23-5.

[2] J. Wickham Legg, *Breviarium Romanum a Fr. Card. Quignonio editum et recognitum, juxta editionem Venetiis A.D.* 1535 *impressam* (Cambridge, 1888). In reality the *Editio princeps* of the first breviary of Quignonez was printed at Rome, as the brief prefixed to it testifies, being addressed to "Dilectis filiis Thomano et Benedicto Juntae, Antonio Blado, et Antonio Salamanca, Romae librorum impressoribus," conceding to them for three years the sole right of printing the new breviary. The brief is dated February 5th, 1535. The passage just quoted is from a fragment of the Roman *Editio princeps*, *Bibl. Nat.* 12mo, B. 17,667, Réserve. I have also had the opportunity of examining a copy printed at Paris—"*Breviarium Romanum nuper reformatum, in quo Sacre Scripture libri, probateque Sanctorum historie eleganter beneque disposite leguntur. De licentia et facultate Sanctis. D.N. Papae Pauli tertii, ac D.N. Regis privilegio et inhibitione. Parisiis, A Joanne Parvo . . . A Galeoto Pratensi . . . Et ab Yolanda Bonhomme . . .* 1536" (*Bibl. Nat.* 4to, B. 1594 Réserve).

[3] Roskovany, t. VIII. pp. 32-41, gives the text of this censure from Argentré, *Collectio judiciorum* (Paris, 1729), t. II. p. 126. Cf. Richard Simon, *Lettres choisiés*, t. I. (Amsterdam, 1730), pp. 239-47: "Du Bréviaire du Cardinal Quignon". Simon writes as follows: "Croiez-moi, Monsieur, les fables dont le Bréviaire Romain n'est pas encore (1685) tout à fait purgé n'ont jamais été approuvées par les honnêtes gens de notre communion. . . . Il semble que le Cardinal Quignon ait voulu remédier à ce mal dans son nouveau Bréviaire, lorsqu'il en a retranché la plupart des Vies fabulenses. Mais cette réformation ne plut point aux docteurs de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris. J'ai

fore," writes Quignonez, "having duly weighed the advice which has been addressed to us, whether in word or writing, we have added, changed, revised, but still have retained the general form of our breviary." And so the breviary was at last published with its text definitively settled.

The title of my copy runs thus:—

Breviarium Romanum a Paulo Tertio recens promulgatum, ex sacra potissimum Scriptura et probatis sanctorum historiis constans. Ab authore denuo recognitum: et antiphonis, homeliis, precibus, sanctorum commemorationibus, aliis id genus additamentis multifariam locupletatum: variisque modis immutatum, ut in prefatione luculentius explicatur.[1]

The brief of Paul III, addressed to the Roman printers, is dated July 3rd, 1536.

Cardinal Quignonez sets forth, in the preface to his breviary, the principles by which he has been guided. One sees at once that he is under the illusion that he has restored the Divine Office to its pristine and essential form! His object in this restoration has been to further the spiritual advantage of the clergy who are bound to the private recitation of the office, by rendering this work of prayer more manageable and more attractive for them, so that "*a caducarum rerum cogitationibus subinde avocati, contemplationi divinarum assuescant*". His intention has also been—and herein again his thought is no less lofty—that the clergy should find in the Divine Office an instrument of religious education. They are called, he says, not only to pray but to teach, and it is meet that they should instruct themselves by the daily reading of the Holy Scriptures

trouvé sur leurs Registres la critique qu'ils en firent en 1535, et qui y est sous le titre de *Notae censurariae Sacrae Facultatis in sacrum Quignonis Breviarium.* Ils appuient leur critique sur des raisons qui ont quelque vraisemblance; et entre autres choses ils remarquent la différence de ce nouveau Bréviaire d'avec ceux qui sont en usage dans toutes les autres Eglises, et même de celui de Rome. On n'y voit point le petit office de la Vierge, les Antiennes, les Répons, les Homélies, l'ordre et le nombre des Pseaumes, de la maniere qu'on a de coutume de les lire dans l'Eglise, ni même l'ordre de lire l'Ecriture Sainte dans l'office de Matines. Tous ces changements, disent ces sages Maitres, sont contraires à l'ancienne pratique de l'Eglise et à la dévotion des fidèles, en sorte que c'est une grande témérité à l'Auteur de ce Bréviaire d'avoir oté tout cela . . . Je ne vous rapporte point les autres raisons qu'ils ajoutent pour montrer que la suppression de ce Livre etait absolument nécessaire, parce qu'ils n'y eurent eux-mêmes aucun égard dans la suite. Peu d'années après on fit en France plusieurs éditions de ce même Bréviaire avec leur approbation."

[1] *Parisiis.* Apud Iolandam Bonhomme, viduam Thielmanni Kerver MDXXXVIII (finished printing, Feb. 6th, 1538). But at the same time we find booksellers reprinting the old breviary. Thus, printed at Lyons by De Harsy (finished printing, Nov. 23rd, 1538): *Breviarium ad usum Sacrosancte Romane Ecclesie, juxta Romani Chori normam absolutissimam: in quo nihil eorum que hactenus vel addita vel emendata sunt omissum est. Sed et nuperrime adjectum est officium de Nomine Jesu.* MDXXXVIII.

and ecclesiastical history. The Divine Office was so fashioned by the ancient Fathers as to provide perfectly for this double need. But what has come to pass by men's negligence? The books of Holy Scripture are hardly read in the office at all, their place in it is reduced to almost nothing, and they are replaced by matter which cannot be compared to them for utility or for importance. Of the psalms of David, intended to be sung completely through in every week, only a few are ever used, which few are said continually over and over all through the year. The histories of saints which are in use are of no authority, and written in a barbarous style. The order of the office is so complicated that as much time has sometimes to be spent in finding the office which should be recited as in reciting it. And therefore, in order to remedy these defects, there have been suppressed in the new office versicles, *capitula*, and responds: there is nothing left in the breviary but (1) psalms, (2) antiphons, and (3) lessons. Such of the hymns have been retained as appeared to have most authority and impressiveness. The psalms have been distributed in such a way that the entire psalter is recited every week, but each canonical hour has but three psalms, the length of some being compensated for by the shortness of others, so that all the offices are of about the same length. On every day of the year the lessons are three in number: the first is from the Old Testament, the second from the New, the third is the legend of the saint, if it happens to be a saint's day, or a homily on the Gospel for the day, if it has a proper Mass in the Missal, or on ordinary days a lesson from the Epistles or the Acts of the Apostles.[1]

[1] Richard Simon, p. 248: "Le dessein de ce Cardinal était principalement qu'on lût l'Ecriture sainte pendant toute l'année, et le Psautier entier chaque semaine. . . . Il avait même prévu une bonne partie des objections qu'on lui fit depuis: car il dit dans son Préface qu'il a retranché exprès les traits ou versets, les répons et autres choses semblables que le chant a introduite dans l'office. Il témoigne qu'en composant son ouvrage il a eu plus d'égard à l'instruction et à l'utilité de ceux qui recitent le Bréviaire en particulier qu'aux usages de ceux qui le chantent publiquement dans les églises. Et pour ce qui est du petit office de la Vierge, il avoue qu'il ne l'a point mis dans son Bréviaire, sans néantmoins avoir eu intention de diminuer en rien le culte qui lui est dû; parce qu'il y reste encore assez d'endroits où l'on célèbre sa mémoire, et où on lui adresse des prières. Mais il ajoute en même temps une chose qui ne devait pas plaire aux zèlez dévots de la Vierge—'Et profecto quorundam psalmorum gravem plerisque repetitionem omitti, non tam molestum esse Virgini Matri credi par est quam gratum illud—quod clerici ad ipsius Filii Jesu Christi diurnum cultum commodissima et expedita ratione alliciantur'." ["And assuredly one may believe that the omission of the continual repetition of certain psalms (felt by most as burdensome) will not be so distasteful to the Virgin Mother as this will be agreeable: viz. that the clergy should be attracted to the daily worship of her Son Jesus Christ, by a most convenient and easy arrangement of that worship."]

The reaction which brought about, forty years later, the suppression of the breviary of Quignonez must not make us unjust towards the work of 1535, full of originality and of courage. People have been apt to overlook the guiding intention of the Cardinal, which was to revive in the clergy a relish for prayer. And, above all, they have forgotten that he left the office to be said in choir untouched, and that, in his intention, and that of Paul III, the new breviary was to be exclusively reserved for private recitation. We may then pronounce a full and free acquittal of the *intentions* of the pious Cardinal.

But how is it possible to be indulgent towards the thorough upsetting of the psalter, the lectionary, and the kalendar, effected by him? After this how much of the traditional office was left? It was hereafter to be the temptation of all the Gallican reformers of the breviary, and the temptation of Benedict XIV himself, to recur in this matter to the inspiration of the work of Quignonez: but here the ancient office justifies its own living work. We see, doubtless, in the breviary of Quignonez, the psalms arranged in an order which is practical, easy, and attractive; but why make the whole thing new? No more expositions or sermons from the holy Fathers: a patristic homily was barely allowed by way of third lesson on festivals of the season—and even this is a concession made in the second edition. No more distinctions of dignity between festivals: every day is to have the same degree of solemnity. The office for saints' days is marked by no other difference than as regards the invitatory, the hymn, the third lesson and the collect. To make up for this, there is Holy Scripture—including "the most useful and important books of the Old Testament," and the whole of the New, with the exception of the Apocalypse, of which only the first few chapters are to be read. And thus the Divine Office becomes principally a reading of the Bible, and in a subsidiary degree a study of ecclesiastical history. All this may be very ingenious and convenient, but it is certainly all quite new, and the historian may be pardoned if he shares in the adverse judgment of the Sorbonne, when it says of Quignonez—"The author of the new breviary has preferred his private judgment to the decrees of the ancient Fathers, and to the common and time-honoured customs of the Church".

Can it be said that Cardinal Quignonez has at least shown more sense in expunging from the lessons of the *Sanctorale* whatever was liable to provoke "contempt or ridicule," desir-

ing that nothing should appear there but was distinguished by "refinement of style and gravity of matter, founded on ecclesiastical history and on the writings of grave and trustworthy authors?" The saints' day lessons of Quignonez are indeed irreproachable as regards "refinement of style": but the sources from which they are drawn are far from being all equally pure. Eusebius is a grave and trustworthy author, no doubt; but are Platina's *Lives of the Popes*, and Mombrizo's *Lives of the Saints*, trustworthy in the same degree? What an acute and cautious critical faculty would have been needed in order to deal successfully with this matter! The sagacity of Quignonez did not extend so far as to make him suspect that the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, and the apocryphal Gospels, were fabulous; and it did not occur to him that certain lessons in the old breviary, such as those on the festival of S. Mary-of-the-Snows, were among those which needed to be replaced by others.[1] These few examples suffice to show that, even in the one direction in which it was legitimate, the work undertaken by Quignonez was one for which he was not sufficiently equipped.

In his excuse it may be said that his breviary was only intended by him as something tentative, that it was made for private recitation and not for performance in choir, and that the Holy See granted the right of reciting it only to such clergy as should individually ask permission to do so.[2] The intention

[1] Richard Simon, p. 244: "Enfin si nous en croions ce Cardinal, les histoires des saints qu'il a laissées dans son Bréviaire y sont d'une telle sorte, qu'elles ne contiennent rien qui puisse choquer les personnes graves et savantes. . . . Mais, quelque soin qu'il ait pris pour en ôter les fables, il y reste encore bien des choses qui ne peuvent être du gôut des personnes savantes. Aussi Maldonat, dans la dispute qu'il eut avec les théologiens de Paris sur le fait de la Conception de la Vierge, parle-t-il de ce Bréviaire d'une étrange manière. On lit dans la troisième leçon de l'office de cette fête les témoignages de plusieurs saints qui ont cru, dit-on, que la Sainte Vierge à été conçue sans péché originel. On y fait dire a S. Thomas ces paroles, auxquelles il n'a jamais pensé: *Maria ab omni peccato originali et actuali immunis fuit.* Et c'est principalement là-dessus que se récrie Maldonat, que ne fait aucune difficulté de traiter d'*impudent* celui qui a composé ce Bréviaire."

[2] It is well to read attentively the brief of Paul III to the printers (July 3rd, 1536): "Breviarium divini officii quod dilectus filius noster Franciscus tituli S. Crucis in Jerusalem presbyter Cardinalis, antea nobis oblatum, nuper nobis (consultis atque adhibitis doctis et prudentibus viris), aliqua addendo atque immutando prout commodius duxit, summa cura atque diligentia recognovit, atque ad veterum SS. Patrum conciliorumque instituta ac meliorem precandi ritum et normam faciliorem brevioremque redegit, ut clerici ejus libri ordine ac brevitate ad legendas Deo quotidianas preces magis alliciantur: vobis imprimendi atque vendendi facultatem concedimus. . . . Et insuper omnibus et singulis clericis ac presbyteris duntaxat secularibus qui hujusmodi breviarium recitare voluerint concedimus quoque ut ad breviarii antiquae consuetudinis Romanae Curiae (vel alterius Ec-

of the Church was, by means of this abridged and simplified office, to recall to the duty of reciting the canonical hours the large number of clergy who had abandoned it. The Blessed Canisius, with this object, propagated in Germany the use of the breviary of Quignonez.[1] But it is also fair to relate that what was at first a privilege granted to individuals soon became a widely extended custom, in Italy, in France, in Germany, and in Spain. The author of the life of S. Francis Xavier calls the breviary of the Cardinal of Holy Cross "the breviary of busy people";[2] but from busy people it passed into the hands of canons, who are commonly regarded as being people of leisure, and in Spain it was introduced into the choirs of several cathedrals: thus from private recitation it passed into public and solemn celebration. It was under these circumstances that the people of Saragossa, unable to recognize the office of *Tenebrae* one Maundy Thursday, and no doubt thinking that the chapter had turned Huguenots, made an uproar in the cathedral itself, and went near to making an *auto da fé* of the canons and their new breviary.[3]

In a memorandum dated "Trent, August 1st, 1551," and addressed to Cardinal Marcello Crescenzi, the Legate of the Holy See at the Council, John of Arze, a Spanish theologian, submitted to the Fathers of this Council certain reasons which should move the Church to repudiate the breviary of Quignonez.

lesiae quod in usu hoc tempore habeatur) recitationem minime teneantur, sed hujus novissimi lectione, perinde ac si vetus legissent, satisfecisse censeantur; dummodo eorum singuli specialem super hoc facultatem a Sede Apostolica obtinuerint: quam per solam signaturam, absque alia impensa, expediri mandabimus. Quibus vero ante hujusmodi breviarii recognitionem ea legendi facultas data est, eos volumus ad novam facultatem obtinendam minime astringi."

[1] Schober (*Explanatio*, p. 15) quotes a letter from Canisius to S. Ignatius Loyola, dated December 28th, 1560. As S. Ignatius died in 1556, there is clearly an error in the date. But what Canisius writes is noteworthy: "Complures ecclesiastici homines nihil recitarunt de horis canonicis. Eos pensum hoc nobiscum persolvere curavimus, ut recitandi morem addiscerent, et quia Breviarii novi Romani usus maxime placebat, impetravimus illis quod petebant, a Romano Legato Pontificio. Itaque pergunt quotidie in recitandis horis canonicis." See *Canisii Epistulae*, ed. Braunsberger (Freiburg, 1896-1901), t. I. p. 196, and t. III. p. 70. We find the same idea in a letter from S. Francis Xavier to S. Ignatius, October 22nd, 1540 (*Epistolarum* Libri VII, ed. Possin, Rome, 1667, p. 35): "Opus etiam esset impetrari privilegium sex clericis, arbitratu nostro communicabile, utendi Breviario novo. Ea res usum haberet nonnullum ad facilius alliciendos quosdam ut nos in Indias sequi vellent".

[2] H. Tursellini, *De Vita B. Francisii Xaverii*, VI. 5 (Lyons edition, 1607), p. 532: "Nuper novum ternarum lectionum Breviarium ('S. Crucis' dicebatur) occupatorum hominum levamen editum erat: ejusque usus Francisco propter occupationes ab initio concessus". The author adds that the saint never availed himself of this concession.

[3] John of Arze, in Roskovany, t. V. pp. 656-7.

This memorandum, which for a long time remained in manuscript, has in our own times been printed and published.[1] Father Arevalo, who had read the MS., praises its conclusions, but considers that it contains more declamation than strong reasoning: its tone is, in fact, somewhat heated, but, for all that, its criticisms are just. John of Arze shows sound judgment in estimating the results of the work of Cardinal Quignonez. While recognizing the fact that "many legends of the old breviaries required reformation," he deplores the rejection of so many on grounds far too slight, the retention of others which were scarcely, if at all, better founded, and the attaching of too much faith to the *dicta* of such a historian as Platina. He was right when he expressed his desire to see the ferial office more frequently celebrated, out of love to the Psalter and the Holy Scriptures, and the Sunday office made obligatory every Sunday, in order to preserve fidelity to the institution of the ancient breviary (*et ita constabit ratio veteris breviarii*), though he does not tell us how this was to be reconciled with what he also desired, viz. that the kalendar of saints' days was to be secure from interference, and that every festival should have its proper office. He is right in undertaking the defence of the responds, versicles, and *capitula*, and in saying that, if these details are proper to an office which is sung in choir, and are only fully intelligible when this is borne in mind, one cannot, for all that, allow two offices, one for the choir and the other for private recitation, without introducing into any canonical office a deplorable confusion. He is right in saying that the office was made to be sung, being in its essence addressed to God, and no mere matter of study, and that it is mixing two distinct forms of religious exercise, and confounding two distinct aims, to try and transform the recitation of the office into a Bible-reading: even putting aside the consideration that, if the mere instruction of the clergy is our object, it is better to give them some easy portions of the Bible to read and reflect upon—passages which have a direct tendency to edification and the formation of Christian character—than to throw open the Holy Scriptures promiscuously to the misunderstanding or the levity of persons who might be ill prepared to profit by it, or devoid of a right intention to do so. He is still more emphatically

[1] *De novo Breviario tollendo consultatio . . . D. I. Joannes de Arze presbyter Pallantinus professione theologus*, in Roskovany, t. v. pp. 635-720. Another severe criticism, from another Spaniard, a theologian of the Council of Trent, will be found in Soto, *De justitia et jure*, lib. I. quest. 7, art. 1, and lib. x. quest. 4, art. 4, quoted by Bäumer, t. II. p. 140.

right when he enters his protest on behalf of the rights of the traditional *Ordo psallendi* of the Roman Church, the traditional distribution of the psalms among the various canonical hours, the traditional allotment of the lessons from different parts of Holy Scripture to different seasons of the Christian year, the traditional number of nocturns—in fact, on behalf of the whole of that liturgical order, based on deep mystical reasons, and constituting a conspicuous monument (*haud obscura vestigia*) of the most venerable antiquity.

These are judicious criticisms: and if there are others less well founded, or which prove nothing by trying to prove too much; if it is true that some considerations of John of Arze are, as Father Arevalo contended, pushed too far in the direction of declamatory vehemence; there are pages of his memorandum which are characterized by a simple and lively eloquence. "What," he cries, "is it when our people see the clergy and the highest dignitaries of the Church so anxious to increase the income of their benefices, that we are to think it well to shorten the Divine Service for which those revenues are the remuneration? Is it in this iron age, an age in love with the most dangerous novelties, when the ecclesiastical chant is mocked at, the canonical hours proscribed, the ceremonies of the Church despised, and her laws treated as mere human inventions, and that, too, all over the world, in Germany, in Switzerland, in England; when even among ourselves, who adhere to the old faith, we see disgust for the usages of the Church freely expressed, a growing contempt for holy things, a more and more widespread audacity in judging, each man for himself, of dogmas and canons: is this the time to give up our liturgical traditions, and to seem tacitly to allow that our adversaries are right, when our first duty is to stand firm?"

It needed some boldness on the part of John of Arze to express himself in such an outspoken manner. He defends himself, in the first lines of his memorandum, against the imputation of wishing to condemn anything which has proceeded from the Apostolic See, or which has once been approved by its authority:—

> Id profiteri libet nos . . . nec quidpiam damnare quod a Sede Apostolica sit profectum aut ejus auctoritate aliquando comprobatum . . . nec tantam Sedem, quod absit, in jus vocamus.

And yet with what vigour does he criticize the breviary which *has* "proceeded from the Apostolic See and once been approved by its authority!" He conjures the Fathers of the

Council to be on their guard against that innovating spirit which despises antiquity and takes up with novelties—some of them positively erroneous, all of them worthy of being suspected—which, not content with having given birth in Germany to new rites, new sacraments, new canons, new breviaries, was now endeavouring insidiously to gain credit among the orthodox themselves. *Caveant pastores!* This is how a Spaniard, in 1551, denounces to the Council of Trent the liturgical work of a Spaniard, undertaken under the auspices of the Holy See in 1535: and indeed, between the work of Quignonez and the spirit of the Reformation, affinities may be discovered,[1] as little suspected by the pious Cardinal himself as by the Blessed Canisius or S. Francis Xavier.[2]

The revised breviary of Cardinal Quignonez had been published at Rome in 1536: twenty-two years later it was proscribed there. By a rescript dated August 8th, 1558, Pope Paul IV, without condemning its temporary use, decreed that there was no longer any reason for allowing it to be reprinted.[3] There still remained the task of providing for the reform of the old breviary. After the attempts of Clement VII and Paul III, the work was still to do: would Paul IV have better success?

He undertook this reform with the clearness of vision natural in a man who had long ago deeply studied the subject. His historian, Caracciolo, tells us that he had never been willing to use the breviary of Quignonez, which he considered "unsuitable to its purpose and contrary to the ancient form".[4] Nor was his judgment less severe on the unreformed Roman breviary. In fact, at a time when he was simply Peter Caraffa, being then Bishop of Chieti (Teate), he joined with S. Cajetan of Thieno in forming a congregation of Clerks Regular—the earliest in date of all such institutions, and the prototype of that of S. Ignatius Loyola—known as the congregation of the Theatines. One of the most novel of the points comprised in the Rule which he gave them was that, for the use of these Theatines, a reform of the old Roman breviary was to be undertaken. As early as 1523, in a letter addressed to the

[1] The influence exercised by the breviary of Quignonez on Cranmer and on the *Book of Common Prayer* has been often, and justly, pointed out. See F. A. Gasquet and Edmund Bishop, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer* (London, 1890), pp. 29 *et seq.* Cf. G. Constant, "La transformation du culte Anglican sous Edward VI," *Revue d'histoire ecclesiastique*, 1911, pp. 67-9.

[2] Cf. Michael, *Histoire de S. Ignace*, t. II. (Tournai, 1893), p. 331.

[3] Arevalo, in Roskovany, t. XI. p. 26. [4] *ibid.*

datarius[1] Giberti, Caraffa had expressed the disgust which he felt for the recitation of this old breviary: he complained of the barbarism of its style, and of having to read in it so many passages from authors of doubtful orthodoxy such as Origen, and so many legends unworthy of credit.[2] In 1529 (Jan. 21st) Pope Clement VII wrote to Caraffa in a brief, congratulating the Theatines on having "for the honour of the worship of God and our holy religion, conceived the design of bringing the Divine Office, as used in the Holy Roman Church, into a form which appeared to them more suited to its purpose, and better calculated to secure the edification and the devotion alike of those that officiated and those that assisted at it".[3] From that time, Caraffa's idea did not stop short of procuring the adoption by the Roman *Curia* of the Theatine reform of the breviary. Not only, in fact, did the Theatines ask permission of Pope Clement VII to recite the breviary as corrected by themselves, and obtained that permission for the space of one year; but the Pope allowed them to hope that, after making this experiment, they would be in a position to present their breviary to the Holy See, "that it might be examined, and a decision

[1] [The chief officer of the Roman chancery.—A. B.]

[2] This letter is quoted by Silos, *Historia clericorum regularium*, *pars prior* (Rome, 1650), p. 95: "Quod vero Romae tunc temporis Breviarium terebatur, nullis non erroribus ac mendis plenum—damnatae ab Ecclesia memoriae auctorum homiliae; incertae nulliusque fidei passim historiae; praeposterae obscuraeque admodum rubricae; praeter sermonis inconcinnitatem, plebeiamque plerisque in locis dictionem—quam sugillat notatque merito epistola ad Gibertum Carafa, qui et se stomacho iis recitandis affici affirmat, ac dedecere sacrorum sive puritatem sive majestatem illam officiorum inelegantiam, insutaque damnatorum capitum nomina, ac dubiam historiarum fidem". In reply, Caraffa received a brief, dated June 24, 1524, authorizing him to correct the Roman breviary for his own congregation. G. B. Tufo, *Historia della Religione de' Padri Cherici Regolari* (Rome, 1609-16), t. II. p. 12, quoted by Bäumer, t. II. p. 154. This brief of 1524 was confirmed by that of 1529.

[3] See the text of the brief in Silos, *loc. cit.*: "Divina officia, quibus nunc S. Romana Ecclesia utitur, ad certum modum, ut quidem vobis videtur, decentiorem, Sanctorumque Patrum ac Sacrorum Canonum statutis convenientiorem . . . excogitatis, quem componere desideratis, nobis et Sedi Apostolicae postea offerendum, ut ex illius inspectione, an publico ecclesiarum usui tradendus sit, decernere possimus". The Pope authorized the Theatines to make trial of their work for their own use, and to perfect it by the process of trial: "Nos igitur, in te praecipue, frater episcope, sperantes, et confidentes quod pro tua doctrina, prudentia et pietate nihil nisi pium et canonicum, laudeque et professione vestra dignum in hoc ages, agique a tuis sines; vobis omnibus, et singulis vestrum dumtaxat, ut missas et divina officia juxta modum novum per vos excogitatum et componendum, in choro et in ecclesiis vestris per annum dumtaxat a data praesentium computandum celebrare et recitare ad Dei laudem libere et licite valeatis". The Pope further dispensed them from reciting the ordinary Roman Office, and from saying the office of Our Lady, even such as should be arranged by themselves. On the work of Caraffa, see Bäumer, t. II. pp. 154-7, and the quotations he gives from Tufo.

come to as to whether it might not be well to bring it into public use in the churches".

But at this very moment (1529) Cardinal Quignonez on his part had set to work, nor is there any room for doubting that he would never have undertaken the reform of the breviary without the approbation of Clement VII. This seems to afford some ground for accusing the Pope of changeableness and inconstancy.[1] This was certainly not the case with Paul IV, who, ascending the pontifical throne in 1555, carried thither the same views on Catholic reform which he had held ever since 1524, and resumed as his fixed object what had been with Clement VII no more than a passing wish, the approbation for the whole Church of that Theatine breviary, which had been waiting five and twenty years for its authorization.[2]

As a preliminary, Paul IV desired to subject it to a final revision: but we really know very little about the details of his plan. Father Silos himself knew no more of them than such as were mentioned by the Theatine Jeremy Isachino, one of Paul IV's intimates, in a letter dated 1561, found by Silos among the archives of the convent of S. Sylvester at Rome.[3] Paul IV suppressed the homilies of Origen and other authors not thoroughly orthodox; he wished to include in the lectionary only such passages of the holy Fathers as were irreproachable not only as to doctrine but as to style; and at nocturns, benedictions characterized by devout gravity, instead of some "silly and absurd" ones which were in use; he removed those narratives of martyrdoms which were without authority, so as to admit only those of certain and un-

[1] See Silos, p. 96. The breviary as reformed by the Theatines in 1529, and tried by them for a year, was soon abandoned: "Quod Patres lucubrarent, gravi cum eorum sensu, domestico interim lare sinuque delituit. Carafae imprimis moleste id accidit, qui pro eo, quo incitabatur, zelo perurgere nihilominus opus non destitit". But, convinced of his inability to forward his design, and annoyed at the success of the breviary of Quignonez, Caraffa availed himself of the excuse of ill-health to obtain for himself a dispensation from reciting any office whatsoever: "Praetextu quidem adversae valetudinis ac gravis aevi, re autem vera, ut inepta atque inerudita in eo officio declinaret, exemptionem a diurno eo penso exolvendo efflagitavit ac mox obtinuit". Silos, p. 97.

[2] Silos, p. 97: "Quousque adlectus Pontifex Cardinalis Theatinus in id quod satis diu consilium votumque pectore gestaverat manum ipse admovere ac perficere suo marte statuit. Quocirca, proscripta statim Quignonii compendiaria ea orandi formula, quae olim cum Thienaeo aliisque Patribus excogitaverat ad examen iterum ac lancem accurate revocando, tum nova ipsemet ac secundas veluti curas adjiciendo, rem pene confecit, ducto ad calcem ac limam opere". Paul IV died August 18th, 1559, before having fully carried out his plan. Bäumer (t. II. p. 158) is of opinion that the breviary adopted by the general Chapter of the Theatines in 1561 was that revised by Paul IV.

[3] Silos, p. 98.

questionable authenticity; he suppressed the uncouth hymns (*hymnos absonos*) which had been assigned to the festivals of the Transfiguration and the Holy Trinity; he shortened the office for Sunday prime, which he considered inordinately long. If we may judge by these few particulars, we may say that Paul IV understood better than Clement VII or Paul III the conditions of a good reformation of the breviary, which he, equally with them, felt to be needed: viz. that such a reform ought to be a return, not to an ideal antiquity such as Quignonez dreamt of, but to the ancient tradition represented by the existing liturgy; that there was no need of change in the traditional arrangement of the Divine Office as it stood in the old breviary of the Roman *Curia:* all that was necessary was to purge that breviary from errors of history, from literary defects, and from the wearisome prolixities which discouraged the clergy from using it with devotion. Pius V, in fact, afterwards well expressed the essence of the idea of Paul IV, when he wrote:—

> Totam rationem dicendi ac psallendi horas canonicas ad pristinum morem et institutum redigendum suscepit.[1]

Thus, at last, liturgical tradition (*pristinus mos*) found the highest authority of all able to comprehend and willing to protect it. A fortunate reaction took place in favour of the old Roman breviary, and the Council of Trent found the question brought before it in the excellent terms in which it was stated by Paul IV.

It was inevitable that the Council of Trent should deal with the question of the breviary: it was one of those points on which more synods than one can number had demanded a reform, during the preceding five and twenty years. Thus, in 1522, the synod of Sens requested the Ordinaries to inspect the breviaries, and especially the legends of the saints, in order to suppress whatever they should find there which was "superfluous," or unbecoming the dignity of the Church. Similarly, the synod of Cologne in 1536.[2] At Augsburg, in 1548, the "scheme of ecclesiastical reform," adopted by Charles V, expressed itself somewhat to this effect: "The tradition as to the method of chanting and praying, which goes back to the holy Fathers, and has been handed down to us by S. Gregory and other rulers of the Church, is not to be called in question.

[1] In the bull "*Quod a nobis*".

[2] Roskovany, t. v. pp. 211 and 222.

But it cannot be denied that in the lapse of time, many things have crept into it which are silly, apocryphal, and by no means accordant with a pure worship. Wherefore it is fitting that the bishops, each in his own diocese, should apply themselves to the correction of the breviaries, bringing back the rites to their pure and ancient form; so that not only the current fashion observed in the prayers may be reformed, but that nothing may be allowed to be recited in them but what is holy, authentic, and worthy of a place in the Divine Office. It will be the part of the bishops to see if anything can be set forth concerning the histories of the saints, of which the Churches of Germany may make use temporarily in the lessons of nocturns, until a General Council has pronounced upon the question; to consider whether there is any means of suppressing the wearisome repetitions of the same prayers and psalms on the same day, as well as the commemorations,[1] the memorials of the saints, and everything else which hinders priests from reciting the ferial office of the season, and causes them to prefer the office of saints' days, which is shorter, but less profitable; and finally to see if there is any means of suppressing certain additions to the canonical office which do not pertain to its essence."[2]

The Council of Trent only attacked the question of the breviary in 1562, that is to say in the year before that in which its labours ended.[3] The demand for a reform of the canonical office was made simultaneously by the Cardinal of Lorraine in the name of the king and bishops of France, and by the Emperor Ferdinand I. The latter, taking up the Augsburg formula of 1548, demanded that the breviaries should be corrected, that nothing should be allowed to remain in them which was not taken from Holy Scripture; and that, on the other hand, to remedy the lukewarmness with which the clergy regarded the recitation of their office, it should be notably abridged: "for," said he, "far better is it to recite five psalms with calmness and spiritual joy, than to say the entire psalter through with a heart full of gloom and ill at ease".[4] The Germans, in fact, did not seem satisfied with the experiment which had already been made with the breviary of

[1] [Votive Offices so called, one or more of which were said every week. See Wordsworth and Procter's *Sarum Breviary*; III., pp. lxx.-lxxvj.]

[2] Roskovany, t. v. p. 224.

[3] See Schmid, "Studien über die Reform des römischen Breviers unter Pius V," in the *Theologische Quartalschrift* of Tübingen, 1884.

[4] Roskovany, t. v. p. 226; Schmid, p. 621; Bäumer, t. II. pp. 152-3, 160-1.

Quignonez: they took up, on their own account, the very same notion which had been entertained by the Cardinal of Holy Cross. The French contented themselves with vague expressions: they demanded from the Council the restoration of rites to a purer form and the suppression of superstitions.[1] The Spaniards, showing themselves better acquainted with the state of the question than either the Germans or the French, made their request to the Legates,[2] expressing their grief at the harm done by the breviary of Cardinal Quignonez, and demanding the correction of the old Roman breviary according to the plan of Paul IV. To this end they mentioned Bernardino Schotto, Cardinal Archbishop of Trani, the Theatine Jeremy Isachino, and the prelate Sirleto, as being qualified to inform the Council of the state of the work commenced by Paul IV, whose counsellors they had been in this affair.[3]

These ideas of the Spaniards prevailed at the Council. Their memorandum was forwarded to Trent by Pius IV's Secretary of State, the Cardinal S. Charles Borromeo, on November 7th, 1562, in terms which allowed it to be clearly seen that the mind of the Spanish prelates was on the whole that of the Pontifical Court.[4] A discussion took place on the point

[1] Grancolas, p. 10.

[2] Memorandum of the Spaniards, drawn up by the Bishop of Huesca (Osca), Vatican Archives, *Concil. Trident.* no. 108, fol. 266: "Hoc a vobis, illustmi DD. Legati, et a S. Synodo, nos Episcopi regni Aragoniae instanter petimus et obtestamur, ut, si religionem divini cultus in ecclesiis nostris conservare cupitis, hanc novitatem profanam Breviarii novelli furtivo confecti, et in gratiam inertium privata auctoritate contra regulas ecclesiasticas introducti celerrime ejiciatis, ut idipsum officium dicamus omnes, et non sint in nobis schismata officiorum et missalium. Ut autem hoc negotium maturiorem et commodiorem effectum sortiatur, Ecclesiae Catholicae credimus expedire ut antiquum Breviarium Romanum quod fel. record. Pauli IV consilio et auctoritate cœptum est emendari, repurgatis paucis quae judicio ejusdem Pontificis per ignorantiam et temeritatem multis saeculis sensim irrepserant, ad finem proximum ordine instituto perducatur. Potest autem res tota cognosci ex revdo patre D. Hieremia, qui Venetiis commoratur, quo idem Pontifex, cum revimo D. Card. Tranense, et cum revimo D. Protonotario Sirleto, et forte aliis qui adhuc sunt superstites, in hoc negotio utebatur."

[3] Schmid, pp. 623-5. To this inquiry probably relates the letter of Isachino quoted above (p. 193).

[4] Vatican Archives, *Concil. Trident.* no. 108, fol. 265, in the letter from S. Charles Borromeo to the legates: "Non mi resta di dir altro, se non che havendo Nostro Signore veduto un memoriale del vescovo d'Osca, del quale sarà una copia qui allegata, dove egli supplica in nome di tutti li Prelati del Regno d'Aragonia, che si reformi l' officio vecchio come haveva cominciato Paulo IV di santa memoria; e non si lasci che con diminutione del culto divino, se ne vadino facendo, ogni di nuove forme, si come dice esser stato fatto nella sua Diocese; Sua Santetà vorebbe, che le Signorie vestre illustrissime ci facessero sopra una matura consideratione, e poi vi prove dessero assieme col Concilio, secondoche a loro et alii Padri pare espediente, tanto per sodisfare a questi Prelati, quanto per riformare in questa parte quello che sarà di bisogno, e se per tal conto varanno far

of whether it might not be well to recur to the question of the concession of Paul IV, allowing the temporary use of the breviary of Quignonez: a decree to that effect was prepared at Trent, but we have no information as to the proposal being followed up.[1] Eight months later, on June 24th, 1563, the Legates informed the Sovereign Pontiff that the correction of the breviary had been delegated to a Conciliary Commission, that of the Index. The Commission was composed of Leonardo Marini, Bishop of Lanciano, a Dominican; Muzio Calinio, Bishop of Zara; and Egidio Foscarari, Bishop of Modena, a Dominican; to whom was added Bishop Thomas Goldwell, a Theatine of English race, the friend of Cardinal Pole and S. Charles Borromeo.[2] In the same letter, the Legates begged the Pope to be good enough to place in the hands of the Commission the MSS. containing the corrections made by Paul IV, which were in the possession of Cardinal Schotto, Archbishop of Trani, who was also a Theatine.[3] By July 22nd all the papers containing Paul IV's corrections were in the hands of the Commission.[4] But by this time it was too late for the Council itself to come to a decision on the changes proposed by Paul IV.

On Saturday, December 4th, 1563, the Council of Trent came to an end, without the Commission having settled anything about the breviary, except that its reformation should be remitted to the care of the Holy See itself, to be pursued and brought to completion. When, at the last sitting of the Council, the Archbishop of Catania read out the decrees which awaited approval and ratification, among which was that concerning the breviary, although a prelate called attention to the fact that these decrees had never been submitted to the various

chiamare il prefato vescovo d' Osca, e da lui intendere piu distintamente il bisogno, potranno forse piu facilmente fare la provisione sopradetta del che sua Santità si remette a Loro".

[1] In the Vatican Archives, *Concil. Trident.* no. 60, fol. 494, the Legates, on November 23rd, 1562, announce that they are sending to the Cardinal Secretary of State "la forma del Decreto che havemo pensato di fare sopra quella practica dell' ufficio nuova, et ne desideramo il suo parere". S. Charles Borromeo replies (Dec. 2nd, 1562) that the Pope leaves to the Legates the task of deciding whether such a decree is opportune (*Concil. Trident.* no. 108, fol. 313). I find no further trace of this projected decree.

[2] Schmid, p. 625. [3] *Id.* p. 629, and Silos, p. 447.

[4] Schmid, p. 625; Bäumer, t. II. p. 163. The latter, on p. 165, mentions a letter, dated August 24th, 1562, from Thomas Goldwell, Bishop of S. Asaph's, announcing that at Trent "noi ci fatigamo assai in preparar le cose per la sessione futura". He is speaking of the formulation of canons against abuses connected with the missal and the breviary: "Solamente faranno alcuni canoni circa gli abusi". The idea of an "emendatione" has been given up.

Commissions for discussion, and had never actually been deliberated upon by them, the Council adopted the resolution which remitted the reform of the breviary to the care of the Pope.[1] One certainly can hardly imagine a conciliary assembly discussing the infinite details of the constitution of the text of the Divine Office, as it might do with the wording of a canon: but, it being granted that the idea of Pius IV was in accord with that of Paul IV, to remit the affair to the care of the Holy See was simply to approve the programme of reform proposed by these two Pontiffs, a programme which the Conciliary Commission had made their own, and which the Council, by continuing the delegation of the matter to the bishops who were members of that Commission, made in their turn their own. One may say then that the Council of Trent adopted the views of Paul IV, and that the old Roman breviary, so harshly viewed by the French and Germans, so disowned even at Rome in the heyday of success of the breviary of Quignonez, came out from this decisive trial victorious and consecrated.

II.

Scarcely had the Council come to an end, when Pope Pius IV summoned to Rome the three bishops appointed by it for the correction of the breviary, Marini, Calinio, and Foscarari.[2] One would like to know something more about the labours at this Committee than merely the conclusions they arrived at; and perhaps some day more will be known, if it should turn out that the MSS. recording their proceedings are in existence somewhere or other; but at present they are not to be found. The names even of the members whom Pius IV added on his own account to the three delegates from the Council are imperfectly known; the Cardinal Archbishop of Trani, Schotto, who seems to have acted as President of the Commission, at all events for some time; the modest, most erudite, and most

[1] Thiener, *Acta Authentica*, Concil. Trident. (Agram, 1874), t. II. p. 506. Cf. in Grancolas, p. 11, the objections made by Antonio Agostino, Bishop of Lerida:—

"Palam professus est opus esse, ad eam rem, exquisitam antiquitatis provinciarumque consuetudinum notitiam, scientiam vero hanc in Romana Curia minime obviam esse, quae viris careat in hoc studiorum genere exercitatis. . . ."

"He plainly declared that for that affair there was needed a specially complete acquaintance both with antiquity and with the customs of various regions —a knowledge which would not be met with in the Roman *Curia*, which was lacking in men experienced in this kind of studies."

[2] Bäumer, t. II. pp. 164 and 169-74.

industrious William Sirleto, one of the learned men of the Roman *Curia* at that time, subsequently a Cardinal, of whom it was afterwards said that he was "*il principal istitutore et essecutore de questo bel ordine de' uffici;*" Curtius de Franchi, Canon of St. Peter's; Vincent Masso, a Theatine renowned for his knowledge of ecclesiastical history; Guilio Poggiano, an elegant Latinist; and lastly perhaps, Antonio Caraffa, afterwards a Cardinal[1]. For our information as to the aims and methods of this congregation of the breviary we have only the book itself in the shape in which it left their hands, and two other documents: viz. the bull of Pius V which serves as a preface to the breviary, and a letter in Italian, believed to have been written by Leonardo Marini, one of the members.[2]

Pius V tells us that, after the disappointing experiment tried by Cardinal Quignonez, many ordinaries attempted on their own account to reform the breviary for the use of their own clergy, an undesirable custom (*prava consuetudo*) from which the worst confusion has proceeded. In order to remedy this evil, Pope Paul IV of happy memory had abrogated the per-

[1] Schmid, pp. 628-31; P. Batiffol, *La Vaticane de Paul III à Paul V* (Paris, 1890), pp. 25 and 65. In the MS. *Vatican Ottoboni* 2366, fol. 67, may be read a declaration on the part of Foscarari, Bishop of Modena, dated 17 December, 1564, not long before his death. He declares that he and Marini, Bishop of Lanciano, and Calinio, Bishop of Zara (the three original Commissioners) were unanimously in favour of the suppression of the office of our Lady—*ut officium Ss. Virginis intermitteretur*—but that after mature reflection and consideration of the evils now afflicting the Church, he beseeches his Holiness to pay no attention to the advice he had given, but, on the contrary, to maintain the said office. This touching declaration is an indication that, at Trent, the labours of the Conciliary Commission had been pushed forward a good distance.

[2] This letter, perhaps written in 1566, of which I give further on (p. 223) the hitherto unpublished Italian text, was published in a bad Latin translation by Roskovany, t. v. pp. 576-83. The original is in the Vatican Archives, *Concil. Trident.* no. 47, fol. 312 *et sqq.* A copy of it is to be found in the Valenti documents, Corsini Library, MS. 29 (formerly 362), fol. 15 *et sqq.* With this may be joined a note by Sirleto, to be found in the MSS. *Vat. Lat.* 6171, fol. 15-18. It contains his observations on the rough draft of the bull "*Quod a nobis,*" which he submits to the Commission on the breviary. Sirleto does not wish it to be said that the programme of the Commission was "ut Breviarium compilarent," because that might lead people to suppose that they had made a new breviary, and thus they would incur the reproach "che reprendiamo nel Breviario novo di Santa Croce": the breviary of Pius V "non e niente mutato dal' anticho quanto alle cose essentiali". At the same time it differs too much from copies of the breviary hitherto in use for it to be possible to tell the clergy merely to mark in their old copies the corrections that have been introduced: "essendo state mutate homilie assai et vite di santi, et aggionte lectioni de la Sacra Scrittura in le ferie de l' Advento, in modo che non me par che se possi fare questo". Near the end of his note, Sirleto mentions Accursio as having taken part in the labours of the Commission, and Poggiano as being the one who put the bull into Latin: speaking of an addition which had to be made to it, he says: "Il signor Poggiano potrà metterlo in stile Latino, in modo che possi sodisfare al gusto di lettori".

mission given to use the breviary of Quignonez, and undertaken the task of bringing back the office to its ancient form (*ad pristinum morem*): but as he died without bringing this work to its completion, the Council of Trent expressed its desire to see the breviary reformed in accordance with the idea of that Pontiff (*ex ipsius Pauli Papae ratione restituere cogitarunt*). The Council, again, in its turn delegated the care of this reform to a Commission, which now eventually completes, under the Pontificate of Pius V, the work of which the initiative belongs to Paul IV. And the Pope adds: "Having ascertained that in the accomplishment of its work the congregation has not departed from the form of the ancient breviaries of the most notable churches of Rome, and of those in our library of the Vatican; and that, while eliminating whatever was of foreign origin or of uncertain authority, they have not omitted anything which is of the essence of the ancient Divine Office, we have given our approval to their work". In other words, the Roman congregation of the breviary had as the object before them, in accordance with the idea of Paul IV, the restoration of the liturgical tradition, which they were to carry out by studying the office in its ancient manuscript forms, and by removing from it all that was foreign to those forms or that could not fairly be justified—"*remotis iis quae aliena et incerta essent, de propria summa veteris officii Divini nihil omittere*".[1] Such at least was the notion of Pius V.

Leonardo Marini enters into detail as to the application of this leading idea expressed by the Pope. "The congregation," he says, "convinced that the ancient form of prayer was good, and that it had become disliked simply through the fact of certain other offices having been superadded to it, aimed at restoring the ancient order, and reducing to just proportions the additions with which it had been burdened."

Starting from this principle, they maintained the traditional division of the offices into those of nine lessons and those of three. But, in order to give greater scope to the recitation of the psalter, they enjoined for the office of simple feasts the twelve psalms of the ferial nocturn, in accordance with the ancient rubric. And, in order to give more scope to the reading of Holy Scripture as well, they ordained that one lesson out of three, and three out of nine, should at all times be taken from the book of the Bible then in course of reading. They felt (and the point is excellently expressed by Marini) that the

[1] See the bull "*Quod a nobis*".

ferial office is the fundamental one: it was most unbecoming that that office should be the one least often said, especially in Lent, when the canons of the Church ordain, on the contrary, that it should be the only one used; they were sensible that the recitation of the psalter, which ought to be performed in its entirety every week, had been so cut up in practice that the psalms of the Common of saints, and none other, came over and over, to the weariness of those who said the office; and that the reading of Holy Scripture could not be diminished as it was, without the ignorance of the clergy being increased in the same degree.[1] The Sunday office, with its eighteen psalms, was no longer to be ousted by semi-doubles; while in Advent and Lent it was even to have the precedence over doubles. Thus did the congregation aim at restoring the ancient order.

The penitential and gradual psalms, which had become obligatory on all ferias in Lent, were in future only then to be recited as follows—the gradual psalms on Wednesdays, the penitential on Fridays. The office of the dead, which had been made obligatory on every day observed as a feria or simple feast, was now only to be recited on the first day of each month and on ember-days and vigils, and on every Monday in Advent and Lent. The little office of our Lady, which had been obligatory on every day when the office was of a feria, a simple, or a semi-double, was now only to be recited on Saturdays, excluding ember Saturdays, vigils, and the whole of Lent.[2] The nocturns of the Sunday Office, however long they might be, were not to be touched, but the Sunday prime was relieved of the burden of Psalms XXI.-XXV. which used to precede the other psalms at this office, but which it was now decided to distribute over the prime of the first five ferias of the week. Thus did the congregation endeavour to "reduce to just proportions the additions with which the ancient office had been burdened".[3]

[1] See the text of Marini, p. 224.

[2] Pius V attached an indulgence of a hundred days to the recitation of the office of the dead, and the same to the office of our Lady, also of fifty days to the recitation of the penitential psalms, and the same to the gradual psalms. The *Preces feriales* were now only to be said at lauds, prime and vespers in Advent and Lent, on ember-days and vigils. The *Preces* at terce, sext, none and compline were reduced to the Kyrie and two versicles.

[3] Grancolas, *Comment.* p. 122: "*Pater*, *Ave* et *Credo*, quae ad finem Completorii sunt, secreto recitantur, neque pars officii sunt. Sunt autem addita a Pio V, iisque adhuc recentius est *Sacrosanctae*, neque priscis Ecclesiae precibus respondet: videtur enim in eo Jesu Christi Divinitas ab Humanitate separari, atque eadem gloriae celsitudo Beatis atque Deo tribui." The prayer *Sacrosanctae*, however, appears in our modern editions of the breviary as having been intro-

From these declarations on the part of Marini we see what kind of spirit animated the congregation. It is impossible to say whether their action fell short of what Paul IV had proposed to himself or went beyond it: more probably the latter. But what is most worthy of notice is the extent to which the imprudences committed by Cardinal Quignonez had made them, on their part, circumspect, and even timid, possessed, perhaps excessively, with the idea of abolishing nothing. Pius V shows himself more decided, when by his sovereign authority he rendered optional the recitation on certain days of the office of our Lady, the office of the dead, and the penitential and gradual psalms—an obligation religiously maintained by the congregation, and to this day enjoined by the rubrics of the breviary.[1] Here were indeed foreign elements (*aliena*) as to the removal of which no hesitation need have been felt.

The congregation manifested the same scrupulous tenderness as to the elimination of such elements of the old breviary as were of uncertain authority (*incerta*). "The reproach has been made," writes Marini, "that some of the legends of the saints in the old breviary were apocryphal, unedifying, or written in a bad style. The congregation had decided to retain the more authentic narratives, putting them into a better literary form, thus securing both the edification and the pleasure of readers. They feel that many of the lives of the saints in the old breviary are excellent,[2] being taken from authors venerable for their antiquity, or from the genuine acts of the martyrs, and to these preference ought to be given, while carefully revising them from the point of view of historical accuracy as well as of correctness of literary style." This task was entrusted at first to Foscarari, afterwards to Poggiano, who between them had all the legends of the *Sanctorale* to revise.[3] Here again the indications furnished by Marini tend to confirm our im-

duced or approved by Pope Leo X. The *Pater*, *Ave* and *Credo* before mattins and prime, as well as after compline, appear in Roman breviaries of the beginning of the sixteenth century or the end of the fifteenth. See Bäumer, t. II. pp. 201-2. These are then modern additions of which a critical correction of the breviary would demand the suppression. The same view may be taken of the commemorations of the Cross, of the Blessed Virgin, of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and *pro pace*, which, for all they are more ancient in date, are not the less adventitious.

[1] See the bull "*Quod a nobis*".

[2] Bäumer, however (t. II. p. 184), believes that the historical lessons of the breviary of Pius V are either new, or taken from Quignonez, and that those of the previously existing Roman breviary were for the most part sacrificed. This is a point that demands a separate detailed inquiry. The indications furnished by Marini (see below, p. 228) are of great value.

[3] Cf. Julii Pogiani, *Epistolae et orationes* (Rome, 1756), t. II. pp. xl-lii.

pression that the congregation viewed the reform of the breviary merely as a correction, and that correction as one to be confined to what was strictly indispensable. Marini says as much, at the conclusion of his report to the Pope, in words which leave no doubt about the matter:—

Et in tutto quello si e' fatto, si e' havuto rispetto non si muti cosa alcuna delli libri delle Chiese.

The Roman breviary, corrected according to these views, appeared in 1568, hardly five years after the close of the Council of Trent. It would even seem that its correction was finished by 1566, to judge by a letter written by S. Charles Borromeo to Sirleto.[1] At this rate the reform must have occupied barely three years in its execution. The bull "*Quod a nobis*," publishing the breviary, is dated July 9th, 1568. The book itself was printed at Rome, and the printer, Paul Manutius, received the privilege to do so on November 11th in that year.[2] The office according to the new breviary might thus come into use at the beginning of the year 1569. The title runs as follows:—

Breviarium Romanum, ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum, Pii V Pont. Max. jussu editum. Romæ, MDLXVIII. Cum privilegio Pii V Pontificis Maximi, in aedibus Populi Romani, apud Paulum Manutium.

The bull "*Quod a nobis*" pronounced the absolute abolition of the breviary of Quignonez, as well as of all breviaries precedent to the new one now published, with the exception of such as could claim Pontifical approval, or a prescription of 200 years' duration: along with a prohibition to change the new breviary in whole or in part, to add to it or take from it anything whatsoever.

Bearing in mind the scrupulously conservative spirit by which the liturgists of S. Pius V were animated, we must not expect to find in the breviary of 1568 anything but the traditional breviary of the Roman *Curia*, as it had been printed

[1] Borromeo to Sirleto, September 4th, 1566 (Schmid, p. 654). Renouald (*Annales de l'Imprimerie des Alde*, Paris, 1833, p. 190), mentions, as printed by Paul Manutius in 1564, a Roman breviary entitled: *Breviarium Romanum ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum, Pii IV Pont. Max. jussu editum*, folio, Rome, 1564. I have not had the opportunity of seeing this volume: it would be very interesting to compare it with the breviary of 1568, and to verify the opinion of Renouald, who asserts that it is identical with the latter.

[2] By brief dated November 22nd, 1568, the same privilege was granted to Plantin, the famous printer of Antwerp, who brought out an edition in 1569. In spite of these privileges, fraudulent editions at once appeared, at Cologne, Liège, Antwerp, and Venice. Bäumer, t. II. pp. 192-3.

ever since 1474—amended, however, and rendered in all respects more handy to use, and more polished in style.[1] Quignonez had pronounced the old rubrics obscure and involved: at the head of the new breviary was placed the excellent exposition of the general rubrics of the office which is still to be found there—partly borrowed from the *Directorium Divini Officii* published by Ciconiolano (Rome, 1540) with the approbation of Paul III.[2] Quignonez had deplored the inroads made on the office of the season by the *Sanctorale:* the kalendar of fixed feasts was now lightened by the removal of several festivals—those of SS. Joachim, Francis of Paula, Bernardin, Anthony of Padua, Anne, Louis of Toulouse, Elizabeth of Hungary, and the Presentation of our Lady.[3] Several more were reduced to having a memorial only—SS. Euphemia, Thecla, Ursula, Saturninus. The total number of semi-doubles was brought down to thirty; of doubles of all classes, fifty-seven; of memorials, thirty-three. Thus the offices of saints' days, including octaves, now only took a little over 100 days from the office of the season.

The version used both as regards the psalter and the lessons from Holy Scripture was that of the Vulgate.[4]

The distribution of Holy Scripture for the lessons of the first nocturn was made conformably to the decree commonly called that of Gregory VII—in reality, as regards its main outlines, it agrees with the ancient distribution, the use of which in the eighth century we have already verified.[5] Every day had its lesson from Scripture, and these were chosen, with few exceptions, from the plainest and simplest pages of the Bible.

[1] But this assertion cannot be made without reserve. Bäumer, t. II. pp. 215-20, gives in detail the corrections made in the *Sanctorale:* they are both numerous and of an important nature.

[2] Schmid, p. 637; Mercati, *Appunti*, p. 5.

[3] This festival was imported from the East in the fourteenth century: see Tillemont, *H.E.* t. I. p. 463: "On a une lettre de Charles V en l'an 1375 pour là faire célébrer en France, comme on avait commencé de faire à Rome. Ce fut le chancelier de Cypre qui persuada aux Latins d'imiter en cela les Grecs. Elle n'estoit pas au Bréviaire Romain avant l'an 1585."

[4] Grancolas, p. 87: "Romanum psalterium a Pio V Romae abolitum adhuc perdurat in Vaticana ecclesia, atque praeterea in Mediolanensi, et Veneta S. Marci, licet nonnullo inter se discrimine; . . . In nonnullis pariter Toletanae urbis in Hispania ecclesiis psalterium Romanum canitur".

[5] Viz. Isaiah for Advent: Genesis in spring; the Acts, the Apocalypse, and the non-Pauline Epistles in Paschaltide; the Kings in summer; Sapiential books in August; Job, Tobit, Judith and Esther in September; Maccabees in October; Ezekiel and the Minor Prophets in November; the Pauline Epistles in Christmastide.

The antiphonary and the responsoral remained intact, that is to say (with the exception of a few details), in accordance with the traditional text, including the portions taken from Holy Scripture.

The lectionary for the second nocturn of fixed festivals underwent notable changes.[1] New lessons were given for the festivals of SS. Hilary, Paul the Hermit, John Chrysostom, Ignatius, Matthias, Joseph, Soter and Caius, Cletus and Marcellinus, Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, and Basil; for the Visitation, the octave of S. Peter, S. Mary Magdalene, S. Peter's Chains, the Invention of S. Stephen, S. Dominic, S. Mary-of-the-Snows, the Transfiguration, S. Laurence, the whole of the octave of the Assumption, S. Bartholomew, S. Augustine, the beheading of S. John Baptist, the octave of the Nativity of our Lady, SS. Matthew, Jerome, Francis, Simon and Jude, Martin, and Damasus. In about a dozen cases additional homilies for the third nocturn were introduced, or the old replaced by new—on the feasts of SS. Agnes, Vincent and Anastasius, Ignatius, Agatha, Martha, Matthew, Bernard, Augustine, Jerome, Nicolas, Lucy, etc. But it is here we come upon the weak point in the reform of Pius V. His liturgists had no hesitation in suppressing the lessons given in the breviary of 1550 for the festival of S. Margaret, as also those for SS. Thecla, Eustace, and Ursula: but this was not suppressing enough. And with regard to new lessons, if we judge by those for S. Bartholomew, the invention of S. Stephen, and S. Mary-of-the-Snows, they admitted more than they ought.[2] And how many more lessons there were which, either in their origin or in the form they had been made to assume, remained undoubtedly worthy of censure! The good intentions of the liturgists of Pius V cannot be questioned: the only doubt is as to whether their work had been fully matured before publication, and as to their critical ability. On this

[1] As regards the sermons and homilies Bäumer (t. II. p. 204) tells us that the work of Paul IV "was adopted by the Commission without any essential change," and he quotes in support of this from MS. *Vat. Lat.* 6471, fol. 80. The selection of these sermons and homilies (except for some false attributions of authorship) was made with remarkable wisdom.

[2] On the sources of the historical lessons of the breviary, see De Smedt, *Introductio generalis ad historiam ecclesiasticam critice tractandam* (Ghent, 1876), pp. 483-87. Some of the historical lessons in the breviary of Pius V were taken (with modifications) from the breviary of Quignonez, see Zaccaria, *Bibliotheca ritualis* (Rome, 1776-81), t. I. pp. 116-18. The list of such lessons is reproduced by Bäumer, t. II. pp. 181-2, and followed by interesting observations, pp. 184-9. On pp. 182-3 he gives also a list of the new lessons.

score Bellarmine and Baronius on the one hand, and Benedict XIV on the other, are not sparing of reproaches against them.[1]

And yet, on the whole, great progress had been made. This respectful and timid treatment of the breviary of the *Curia* was the best restoration of the ancient Roman Office which was possible at the time. It preserved the traditional *Ordo psallendi* of the Roman Church; it preserved the antiphonary and responsoral of the time of Charlemagne; it restored the *Ordo canonis recitandi* of the eighth century; it reduced the kalendar of fixed festivals to juster proportions, and restored to its due place of honour the office of the season. If it did not venture to suppress the hymnal, it is because no one at that time had any idea of doing such a thing, and indeed no one has thought of doing so since.

Catholic Christendom did full justice to the wise and sincere work of Pius V.[2] All Italy, the whole of Spain, including Portugal, and France—rather more tardily, dating from 1580[3] and then owing to the efforts of the Jesuits—received with esteem the new Roman breviary.[4] "If in the ninth century," writes the Sorbonnist Grancolas, "the Roman breviary deserved such great praise as to be preferred to those of all other churches, it shone with even greater lustre after Pope Pius V brought it out afresh; and it may be said that, since that time, all the several churches have adopted it, at all events to this extent, that those who have not received it under the title of the Roman breviary have incorporated it almost entire into their own, adapting it to their own rite."[5]

We may even say, with Dom Guéranger, that the success of the breviary of Pius V was excessive. The Holy See contemplated the continued use of liturgies with a prescription of

[1] See also the reproach brought by Sigonio, in his letter to Paleotii, January 3rd, 1575, in regard to the account of the false "Donation of Constantine," Bäumer, t. II. p. 211.

[2] Roskovany, t. v. p. 237, and Bäumer, t. II. p. 311, reproduce a criticism by Lindanus, Bishop of Ruremonde, which is more spirited than well-founded.

[3] But see the beautiful Parisian edition of the breviary of Pius V published by Kerver, 1574, "cum privilegio Caroli IX Francorum Regis Christianissimi." Also the *Breviarium Romanum ex decreto sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum . . . Avec les rubriques traduites en Français par le commandement expres du Roy*. Paris, James Mettayer, 1588 (Bibl. Nat. folio B. 543). It is the breviary known as that of Henry III.

[4] Roskovany (t. v. pp. 236-75) gives the particulars of its successive reception by particular Councils, and by various great religious orders. See also the summary of these, with the addition of fresh facts, in Bäumer, t. II. pp. 221-33.

[5] Grancolas, pp. 14-15.

two centuries and upwards.[1] Thus, by a rescript of September 10th, 1587, it accorded to the Church of Aquileia the privilege of continuing to celebrate the Divine Office according to its ancient patriarchal rite.[2] It would have been well if Churches which might have availed themselves of the exception provided for by the bull "*Quod a nobis*," had preserved their own traditional *Ordo*.[3] When the Chapter of the Cathedral of Paris, in 1583, refused to its Bishop Peter de Gondy, the reception of the breviary of Pius V—"*Maxime quod recepta dudum tam illustris Ecclesiae consuetudo non facile suum immutari officium pateretur*"—it was in accordance with the conservative views expressed by the Holy See.[4] "We are far from blaming the Chapter," writes Dom Guéranger; "it was only right that this Romano-French liturgy . . . which several religious orders had adopted, and which had made its way into the Churches of Jerusalem, Rhodes and Sicily, should remain standing as one of the glories of our nation. Already abolished in the greater part of the French cathedrals by the introduction of Roman books, by Paris, at all events, it ought not to be allowed to perish. Rome itself had prepared the way for this preservation by the provisions of her bull; if, then, this beautiful and poetic form of Catholic worship now no longer exists, it is not the Holy See that we must call to account, but those Parisians who, *a hundred years later*, thought fit to overthrow the venerable and noble edifice which their forefathers had defended with so much affection." [5]

[1] Bull "*Quod a nobis*": "Abolemus quaecumque alia Breviaria . . ., illis tamen exceptis, quae ab ipsa institutione a Sede Apostolica approbata, vel consuetudine quae (vel ipsa institutio) ducentos annos antecedat".

[2] Guéranger, t. I. p. 430, Bäumer, t. II. p. 227. Cf. Dom Morin, "L'année liturgique à Aquilée antérieurement à l'epoque Carolingienne," *Revue Bénédictine*, 1902, pp. 1-12.

[3] As was done at Milan, where the Ambrosian rite was preserved; and at Toledo, where they preserved in use the office called "Mozarabic".

[4] The quotation is from De Gondy's Preface to the *Breviarium insignis Ecclesiae Parisiensis restitutum ac emendatum R. in Christo Patris D. Petri de Gondy Parisiensis Episcopi authoritate, ac ejusdem Ecclesiae Capituli consensu editum*, Paris, 1584.

[5] Guéranger, t. I. p. 452. But Dom Guéranger is wrong here in falling foul of the Parisians of the seventeenth century. It was Peter de Gondy who, after all, in 1584, caused the Parisian service-books to be corrected, and "introduced into them nearly the whole of the breviary of S. Pius V" (Guéranger, loc. cit.). Note this other additional result of the bull "*Quod a nobis*," that it placed in the hands of the Holy See the monopoly of regulating liturgy of every kind, and suppressed all the power of the bishops over that matter. It is true that, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the bishops withstood this Roman monopoly. But, all the same, the principle had established itself as a feature of theological instruction. See the passages (from Suarez, the Divines of Salamanca, Lessius, Bonacina, Vasquez, Billuart, Gavanti, Benedict XIV, etc.) in D. Bouix, *De jure liturgico* (4th ed. Paris, 1886), pp. 233-64.

III.

In promising—in the bull "*Quod a nobis*"—that the breviary "should never at any time be changed either in whole or in part, and that no one should add to it or take away from it anything whatsoever," Pope Pius V engaged himself to something which his successors were not disposed to observe.

His immediate successor, Pope Gregory XIII (1572-85) did not consider himself bound by the terms of the bull. Pius V had not instituted any office in commemoration of the victory of Lepanto (1571), contenting himself with inserting in the Roman martyrology under October 7th the mention of our Lady of Victory. Gregory XIII was not satisfied with this, and by a decree of April 1st, 1573, he instituted the feast of the Rosary, fixed it for the first Sunday in October of each year, and assigned to it the rank of a greater double. It is true that this festival was only to be observed in churches which had an altar of the rosary: it was not extended to the Church at large and did not become so until October 3rd, 1716, under Clement XI. But, none the less, Gregory XIII felt himself entitled to interfere with the breviary of 1568. We see this more plainly when, in 1584, he re-established, as a double, the feast of S. Anne, which Pius V had removed from the breviary, and introduced a memorial of S. Joachim, all mention of whom had been suppressed by his predecessor.[1]

After him, again, Sixtus V (1585-90) laid his hands on the work of Pius V. He re-established, in 1585, as a double, the feast of the Presentation of our Lady, which had been abolished by Pius V.[2] In the same way he re-established the festivals of SS. Francis de Paula and Nicholas of Tolentino. The next year (1586) he re-established the festival of SS. Januarius and his companions, Peter Martyr, and Anthony of

[1] In MSS. *Vat. Ottoboni*, 2366, fol. 73-5, is a letter of Cardinal Sirleto's on the correction of the breviary and the missal, dated March 13th, 1579, but it is simply a tract on the marking of tonic accents. Bäumer, t. II. p. 234, refers to *Vat. Lat.* 6171, fol. 158, for a record of Sirleto's intervention in favour of the festival of S. Anne. In connection with this matter we may mention the official edition of the Roman martyrology in 1584. At that date Bellarmine was in favour of corrections being introduced into the breviary: see his letter to Salmeron, July 19th, 1584. It would seem that the goodwill of old Cardinal Sirleto—he died Oct. 7th, 1585—had not been gained for this step. Bellarmine's letter is quoted by Bäumer, t. II. p. 212.

[2] Bäumer, t. II. p. 252, quotes from *Vat. Lat.* 6171, fol. 100, a note which he attributes to Cardinal Sirleto, assenting to the restoration of this festival.

Padua, all suppressed by Pius V. In 1588 he bestowed on S. Bonaventure the title of Doctor, and raised his festival to the rank of a double.[1]

The pontificate of Clement VIII (1592-1605) justified the measures taken by Gregory XIII and Sixtus V, by going a good step further. In the bull "*Aeternus Ille*," which serves as preface to the Sixtine edition of the Vulgate (1589), Sixtus V had given the printers a permission, or rather a command, which was not without grave effects—viz. a command to correct, in accordance with this edition, in missals, breviaries, psalters, rituals, pontificals, ceremonials, and other ecclesiastical books, all the passages taken from Holy Scripture (*juxta hunc nostrum textum ad verbum et ad literam corrigantur*). We all know what sort of criticism the Sixtine edition of the Vulgate of 1589 aroused, and how it became necessary at once to undertake its revision; hence, in 1592, there appears a new edition of the Vulgate. What disturbances in the text of the Roman Office does all this imply! We have got to about the year 1600: the breviary of 1568 has now been thirty years in use. What book would not be found to betray some flaws under such an ordeal as it had to face? Textual criticism, the knowledge of history, literary taste, were all of them more developed and more exacting than they had been thirty years before. The congregation of 1568 had done its work at a time when circumspection was peculiarly necessary, and when the immediate need of the moment was conservatism: a new congregation might feel at liberty to take a bolder course. The creation by Sixtus V in 1588 of the permanent Congregation of Rites, charged with the mission of reforming and amending the liturgical books as need required, was already a step in this direction.[2]

The initiative in the matter of the revision of the breviary was taken by the Holy See: it was the act, not of Clement VIII, as has always been believed until now, but of Sixtus V, and coincided in time with the creation of the Congregation of Rites. In fact, Sixtus V instructed Cardinal Gesualdo, the first prefect of that congregation, to ask, through the Papal Nuncios, the advice, not only of the ordinaries of churches, but of the principal learned men or learned bodies of Europe. The formulated design of the Pope was "to procure the restoration of the breviary and the missal, as soon as possible,

[1] Schober, p. 50. [2] See the bull "*Immensa Aeterni Dei*," Jan. 22nd, 1588.

to their original purity".[1] In the Vallicellan Library at Rome, among the papers of Baronius, are preserved the *Adnotationes Criticae* received in reply from the theologians of Poland, Savoy, Portugal, Spain, Germany, Naples, Venice, the Sorbonne, the dean of the faculty of theology at Salamanca, and so forth, not omitting Ciacconio and Bellarmine.[2]

The consultation thus opened by Sixtus V had no immediate result, as the Pope died soon after (Aug. 27th, 1590), and his three successors, Urban VII, Gregory XIV, and Innocent IX, were not spared to do more than just take their seat on the Apostolic throne, during 1590 and 1591. Nevertheless, during his pontificate of six months, Gregory XIV found time to resume the project for the revision of the breviary: he renewed to Cardinal Gesualdo the mission with which Sixtus V had invested him, and a Commission of consultators was nominated, which met on April 25th, 1591, with Gesualdo as president. The *Acta* of this Commission, unfortunately incomplete, have recently been found and published.[3]

The desire of Gregory XIV was that there should be sup-

[1] This point has been made clear by Bäumer, t. II. pp. 253-6. See his quotations from the replies of some of the Nuncios, in July, August, October, 1588. Cardinal Gesualdo's circular letter is dated May 13th, 1588, but Bäumer (p. 255) has not been able to find a copy of it. In a letter of April 9th, 1588, Baronius writes on his own account: "Il Breviario Romano per disgratia nostra e cosi cattivo che cento e quaranta errori ho notato nelle historie che ivi si trattano". Bäumer, t. II. p. 212.

[2] A. Bergel gives a catalogue of them in "Die emendation des Römischen Breviers unter Papst Clemens VIII". See the *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* (Innsbrück, 1884), pp. 293-4.

[3] Bäumer, t. II. pp. 263-9, from the MS. *Vat. Lat.* 6097. I have, in my turn, consulted this MS. in 1904. The file of papers bears the title (folio E): *Super reformatione Breviarii varia.* On the back of the leaf is written: "Hunc libellum ex foliis volantibus habitis ex haereditate Joannis Baptistae Bandini canonici S. Petri, et olim correctoris Bibliothecae Vaticanae, et secretarii Congregationis super reformatione Breviarii sub Clemente VIII, collegi ego, Felix Contelorius, ejusdem Bibliothecae custos, anno 1628". The *Acta* of the Commission of Gregory XIV begin on folio 127. They are no more than a copy of the original, and very imperfect. At the head of them we read: "Ss. D. N. Gregorius XIV emendationem Brev. Rom. quam Xystus V ejus praedecessor aggressus fuerat, et morte praeventus absolvere nequiverat, continuandam esse decrevit. Cumque sciret huic tunc negotio praefectum fuisse Illustm et Revm Cardinalem Gesualdum, iterum ejus rei curam omnem eidem demandavit, suaeque intentionis et voluntatis esse declaravit, ut in lectionibus sanctorum et aliis quibusque rebus ea solum mutentur quae nullo pacto sustineri possunt, et quae satis bene digesta noscuntur non ulterius laborandum ut ampliora et perfectiora reddantur, quum importunae novitates hoc praesertim tempore nihil expedire nullamque prorsus utilitatem vel commodum Ecclesiae Dei afferre posse videantur. Ad eam rem quum primum delecti fuerant eruditi aliquot viri, sacrarum rerum periti, et ecclesiasticis ritibus instructi, ut totum Breviarium diligenter examinarent, et quid in singulis rebus statuendum videretur maturo judicio consulerent, quorum haec sunt nomina—[But the names are missing, and we have

pressed in the legends of the saints whatever could in no fashion be upheld, but that the consultators should not give way to the temptation to perfect anything which was already tolerable. It does not appear that they were very severe in their treatment of the legends. Nevertheless, they proposed to cancel, in that of S. Damasus, some lines still to be seen there, about psalmody and the *poena talionis*, which are taken from the forged decretals. It is the only correction of value which we notice in their work, and it is a correction never adopted, either under Clement VIII or Urban VIII.

Gregory XIV died too soon to see his design brought to completion, and it was reserved for Clement VIII to take it again in hand. It has with good reason been remarked that his pontificate (1592-1605) was a season of rare liturgical activity: not to mention the definitive edition of the Vulgate (1598), to this pontificate belong revised editions of the Martyrology (1598), the Roman Pontifical (1596), the Ceremonial of Bishops (1600), and the Roman Missal (1604). Rome was at this time a brilliant focus of ecclesiastical studies: the Cardinals Bellarmine and Baronius were the glory of the Sacred College; and about them were gathered a number of distinguished scholars. Clement VIII chose Baronius as the organizer of the new revision of the breviary; in his hands were placed the *Adnotationes criticae* addressed to Rome in 1588, in order that he might express to the Pope his opinion upon them: and we possess the text of the report made by him.

"I have examined," he says, "all the criticisms which have come in from various countries, or which have been sent to me by learned persons at Rome itself. In accordance with these I have ruled out, all through the breviary, whatever seemed indefensible, thus applying myself first, for greater despatch in the work of correction, to suppress, rather than to add anything fresh. As it is but just that my work should be submitted to the censorship of others, the best course would be for your Holiness to appoint one of the cardinals of the Congregation of Rites, joining with him two or three learned and erudite consultators, who would take the trouble to review it carefully. A decision could thus be arrived at in a few days

no information about them from any other source.]—Eos igitur D. Cardinalis ad se convocavit die XXV Aprilis, MDXCI, ac mandatum et voluntatem Sanctissimi illis exposuit. . . ." See the document reproduced in full by Bäumer, loc. cit. under the title of "*Acta* of the Commission of Gregory XIV".

as to this matter. I have, in fact, everywhere indicated my reasons for correcting or leaving uncorrected this or that passage of the breviary; and moreover I would attend myself, so as to be ready to give any necessary explanations, should any point seem obscure or ambiguous. The corrections approved by these censors would at once be submitted—at least as regarded the more important modifications—to the Congregation of Rites, and lastly your Holiness would be able to take cognizance of them, and decide on the whole work as might seem good to yourself. As regards the best plan for carrying out the corrections, it has been suggested that a small volume should be published, containing the new offices approved by Sixtus V . . . and the *correctorium* of the whole breviary. As far as the new offices are concerned, some of which (as those for the Conception, the Visitation, and the Presentation of our Lady) have not yet been printed, there may be some good in this; but as regards the *correctorium* I altogether disapprove of it. In fact, thus to publish the *correctorium* would be disclosing to all the world, including the enemies of the Church, the numerous and grave errors which we have hitherto tolerated in the breviary: this would be a scandal, and a slight upon the authors of the breviary, not to mention how irksome it would be to many persons to make all these corrections in their books. It will be much better to print an entire breviary corrected and purged from errors, not obliging anyone to buy it forthwith, but only when need for it arises. Thus the religious and the poor priests will not be put to inconvenience; and while few people would notice these new corrections of all the errors which really have crept into the breviary, in a few years there would be none but corrected breviaries in circulation. If it is thus decided to print a corrected breviary, a thing which all well-instructed persons keenly desire and impatiently await, your Holiness might explain, in a bull prefixed to it, the reasons for this new edition . . . especially that its object is to put an end to the temerity of some who, on their own authority, have inserted in breviaries false or uncertain matter (as is evidently the case with the lessons for S. Alexis and others), and that advantage has been taken of this opportunity to correct some other defects due to the carelessness of printers or of others."[1]

The views here expressed by Cardinal Baronius were full of

[1] Bergel, pp. 295-7. The sitting of the Commission at which this report was read, was that of September 10th, 1592.

practical common sense. Since errors were to be corrected, the best way was to correct them quietly and unobtrusively: since a new edition was to be published, it was better not to impose, all at once, its compulsory use. But the revision must suppress in the breviary all that was indefensible: it is equivalent to saying that a revision was imperative.[1]

The special congregation whose advice he asked for was forthwith nominated by Clement VIII. The names of its members are as follows: John Baptist Bandini, Canon of S. Peter's; Michael Ghisleri, a Theatine; Bartholomew Gavanti, a Barnabite; Ludovico de Torres, Archbishop of Monreale; Cardinals Antoniano, Bellarmine, and finally, Baronius as President.[2] Its first meeting took place on September 10th, 1592.

We have not got the minutes of the proceedings of the congregation, and we do not know exactly the period over which their labours extended. We find evidence of sittings held as late as from March 21st, 1601, to June 12th, 1602.[3] The bull "*Quum in Ecclesia*," by which Clement VIII promulgated the new edition of the breviary, bears date May 10th, 1602. As

[1] See, in the MS. *Vat. Lat.* 6097, fol. 111 *et sqq.* the letter written to Cardinal Baronius from Naples, by "Marianus Liberius Pelignus," in 1601. It begins thus: "Quum Breviarium sacrarum precum serio tandem emendari, et ad veterem primaevae Ecclesiae formam revocari persentiscerem, statui, antequam istic editio maturescat, nec accersitus quidem, symbolam conferre meam". We may conclude that the correction of the breviary, decided on by Clement VIII at the very beginning of his pontificate, had been slumbering, up to 1601. This Neapolitan's attitude of mind is curious, and deserves notice. He writes:—

"Habemus sacrarum precum breviarium, non quale Damasus, aut Leo, aut certe Gelasius ediderunt, sed quale Sanctissimi Gregorius Septimus, Innocentius Tertius, et insequentes Pontifices rudi illa nostrorum patrum aetate, et lutulento ac turbulento tempore utcumque habere potuerunt. Jam hoc florenti saeculo Clemens VIII opt. max. quo virtutum et litterarum studia caput diu pressum tollere incipiunt, quidni priscum illum psallendi ritum, abjecto hoc semibarbaro, restituat?"

"The breviary of sacred prayer which we have is not that put forth by Damasus, or Leo, or even Gelasius, but such as was the best their Holinesses Gregory VII, Innocent III, and the Pontiffs that came after them, were able to have in that rude age of our fathers, and in their troublous and turbulent times. Now, in this flourishing age, when the study both of virtue and of letters begins to lift up its head, so long depressed, why should not Clement VIII, opt. max. cast away that semi-barbarous rite, and restore the original *Ordo psallendi?*"

[2] Gavanti, Preface to his *Thesauras sacrorum rituum* (Rome, 1628).

[3] In the MS. *Vat. Lat.* 6957, fol. 22-48: "Lectiones receptae ac restitutae," a summary of the proceedings at sittings between the above-named dates. The commissioners present were Baronius, Antoniano, Bellarmine, Torres, and Bandini. I have also consulted the MSS. *Vat. Lat.* 6096-6100: "Super reformatione breviarii". In 6096, fol. 88-9, I found a good general summary of the emendations finally recommended by the Commission to Clement VIII. "Capita praecipua in repurgatione breviarii Romani examinata". It will be found in full further on (p. 229).

the first sittings of the Commission go back, if not to April 25th, 1591, at all events to September 10th, 1592, one may reckon that its labours lasted ten years.

At all events we know fairly well the general nature of these labours.

To begin with, the congregation was agreed that in the text of the breviary as few changes as possible were to be made—*data est opera ut quam minima mutatio fieret.* Cardinal Antoniano had proposed to correct the false quantities which occur in the hymns: but the congregation, more wisely, while recognizing the fact that the hymns are full of errors of prosody, did not consent to alter anything beyond those errors which seemed to be due to careless copying, or which could be corrected by the mere changing of a single letter or a single syllable, "especially in the hymns of Prudentius and Ambrose, whom we may not suppose to have composed them incorrectly".[1] The question was raised if it would not be well to shorten the Sunday office, and the new offices for doubles: but the conclusion arrived at was that nothing was to be abridged —"*nihil breviandum*". As to the lectionary, the antiphonary, and the responsoral, their aim was "to change nothing but that which could not be retained without scandal—'*ea sola mutaremus quae sine offensione tolerari non poterant*'".[2] They removed some homilies and sermons from the lectionary and replaced them by others: thus, on August 15th, they took away an apocryphal sermon attributed to S. Athanasius, to make way for one by S. John Damascene; on November 1st they restored the

[1] Bergel, p. 297. Two hymns were added: the *Fortem virili pectore*, written by Cardinal Antoniano for the Common of Holy Women, and the *Pater superni luminis*, written by Cardinal Bellarmine for the festival of S. Mary Magdalene. In his autobiography, Bellarmine tells us that he had acquired remarkable facility in writing Latin verses, in all metres:—

"Ex tanto numero carminum nihil superat, nisi carmen Sapphicum compositum Florentiae de Spiritu Sancto (*Spiritus celsis dominator astris*) . . . et hymnus de S. Maria Magdalena qui positus est in breviario, qui hymnus compositus fuit Tusculi, et a Clemente VIII antepositus hymno quem de ea re scripsit Cardinalis Antonianus, et uterque nostrum quasi ex tempore scripsit, et joco magis quam ut in breviario poni deberet."

"Out of so great number of poems nothing survives, except the hymn to the Holy Spirit, in Sapphics, which I wrote at Florence, and the hymn for S. Mary Magdalene, which has found a place in the breviary. This hymn was written at Frascati, and preferred by Clement VIII to the hymn on the same subject written by Cardinal Antoniano. And both of us wrote impromptu, and more for amusement than with any idea of what we wrote being put in the breviary."

Die Selbst-biographie des Card. Bellarmin, ed. Döllinger and Reusch, Bonn, 1887, p. 26.

[2] Bergel, *ibid.*

name of Bede to the sermon in the second nocturn which the breviary of Pius V had attributed to S. Augustine. They suppressed in the legends of the *Sanctorale* a small number of assertions which were judged historically untenable: as, in the legend of S. Martin the relation, borrowed from Gregory of Tours,[1] of how S. Ambrose came in a vision to be present at S. Martin's death; and the assertion that SS. Gordian and Epimachus were condemned at Rome by the Emperor Julian.[2] But most of the errors corrected were those of simple chronology: such as the date of the death of S. Ambrose or S. Hilary, or of the martyrdom of SS. Gervase and Protase, Faustinus and Jovita, etc.

Some of the corrections proposed by Baronius, however opportune, were not adopted. He considered disputable the incident related in the legend of the dedication of S. John Lateran: "*Et imago Salvatoris in pariete depicta populo Romano apparuit*". But it was allowed to stand. He asked that, in the legend of the Apparition of S. Michael on Mount Garganus, the mention of the consecration at Rome of an oratory "*in summo circo*" should be modified so as clearly to indicate the oratory of S. Michael "*in summo circulo molis Hadrianae*," that is, on the terrace of the castle of S. Angelo; but the old wording was retained, obscure as it is. The grave errors which Baronius pointed out in certain legends, particularly in that of S. Alexis, were not even examined by the congregation, and the much controverted story of that saint has been left intact. On the other hand, some of the corrections which *were* adopted are open to dispute. For example, Baronius made the breviary say that the bones of S. Andrew were translated to Constantinople in the reign of Constantius; the breviary of Pius V had said "Constantine," a reading judiciously replaced by Urban VIII. The breviary of Pius V had styled S. Hippolytus priest; Baronius gives him the erroneous title of Bishop of Porto. The legend of S. James the Greater in the Breviary of Pius V said, without enlarging on the fact, that the Apostle "traversed Spain and preached the Gospel there, and afterwards returned to Jerusalem". Bellarmine wished this assertion to be removed from the breviary, as not resting on any sound historical testimony; but Baronius disregarded his representations and had the following passage inserted:—

[1] Bergel, p. 340. [2] *ibid.* 317.

Mox Hispaniam adiisse, et ibi aliquos ad fidem convertisse, Ecclesiarum illius provinciae traditio est; ex quorum numero septem postea Episcopi a Beato Petro ordinati in Hispaniam primi directi sunt.

from which Urban VIII had to remove the words about *Ecclesiarum illius provinciae traditio*, as a concession to the urgent protests of the clergy of Spain. In the breviary of Pius V, the identity of Denis (Dionysius the Areopagite), Bishop of Athens, and Denis, Bishop of Paris, was assumed: Bellarmine wished them to be distinguished, making the latter a bishop of the time of Decius, as he is regarded by Gregory of Tours and Sulpicius Severus; but Baronius had the account given in the breviary of Pius V retained.[1] Baronius corrected the legends of the early Popes; but only to the extent of giving greater precision to the dates of their respective pontificates, a matter which still remains so uncertain.

And how many details "*quae sine offensione tolerari non poterant*" were nevertheless retained! Bellarmine did not admit the authenticity of the False Decretals, and everyone knows how these are worked into the legends of ancient Popes in the breviary: yet Baronius refused all correction on this point. Again, Baronius himself recognized the apocryphal character of certain acts of Apostles, such as the "Acts of S. Thomas," yet he appeals to their authority, "*licet adnumerentur inter apocrypha*," as he says.[2] He admitted the corrupt character of certain acts of martyrs: "*Acta S. Donati depravata esse nulla dubitatio est*"; and again, speaking of S. Katherine, "*Multa ejus historia habet quae veritati repugnant*". And yet he did not

[1] In the MS. *Vat. Lat.* 6242, which consists of papers bearing on the reform made by Clement VIII, and emanating, at all events in part, from Bandini, we find on fol. 20-4 some *Dubia in lectionibus Breviarii*, from which we will only quote the two following: "Die 9 Octobris, dicitur Dionysius Areop. Parisiorum episcopus fuisse, quod valde dubium est, ut facile possem ostendere si opus esset". "Die 25 Julii, Jacobus dicitur in Hispania evangelium praedicasse. At id valde dubium est: nam nullus probatus autor ejus rei testis fortasse proferetur. Narrat id quidem Isidorus, in libro de SS. Patribus utriusque Testamenti (si tamen Isidorus ejus libri auctor est), verum in ea narratione multa absurda et falsa continentur . . . Denique Innoc. [i.e. Pope Innocent I, see Jaffé, 311] . . . disertis verbis affirmat nullum Apostolorum in Hispania praedicasse".

[2] In the same way, the autobiography of Bellarmine informs us that Baronius considered as apocryphal, and with justice, the encyclical letter of the priests of Achaia concerning the martyrdom of S. Andrew: but he yielded to the representations of Bellarmine, who (quite mistakenly) considered it authentic: "A Card. Baronio dissensit in quadam congregatione super Reformatione brev. de passione S. Andreae, an esset vere scripta a Presbyteris Achaiae. Negabat Baronius; sed quum audisset sententiam N. [Bellarmini] et rationes ejus, publice dixit se amisisse causam, et placere sibi sententiam N. magis quam suam." *Selbst-biographie*, p. 46.

think that anything further was necessary in their case beyond emendations.

In the end, the *correctorium* drawn up by Baronius and adopted by this Clementine congregation amounted to no more than some unimportant modifications,[1] very small even in comparison with the premises set forth by Baronius in his programme. But, such as it was, it established a point of great importance (implicitly recognized by Clement VIII by his not reproducing, in his bull prefixed to the new edition of the breviary, the strictly prohibitive terms of the bull "*Quod a nobis*" of Pius V), that is to say, *that the text of the Roman breviary is something susceptible of amendment.* And if such be the case, it must be because it includes, in its time-honoured and unchanging structure, certain elements merely temporary and provisional, the character of which the progress of time has revealed or has still to reveal.

Another matter in which Clement VIII revised the work of Pius V was the introduction of new festivals into the Roman breviary, or the re-establishment of some which had formerly a place in it: such as SS. Romuald (February 7th), Stanislas (May 7th), Lucius, Pope (March 4th), Katherine of Sienna (April 30th), John Gualbert (July 12th), and Eusebius (December 16th). He also raised in rank some festivals which had been lowered by Pius V.[2] The Invention of the Cross became a double of the second class; the festivals of the Transfiguration, the Exaltation of the Cross, S. Mary-of-the-Snows, the Visitation, Presentation, and Conception of our Lady, the Apparition of S. Michael, S. Peter's Chair (both at Rome and at Antioch), S. Peter's Chains, the conversion of S. Paul, S. John before the Latin Gate, and S. Barnabas, were raised to the rank of greater doubles: some simple feasts were raised to semi-doubles—SS. Timothy, Polycarp, Nereus and Achilles, Gregory the wonder-worker. Thus, while in 1568 the object in view was to reduce the *Sanctorale*, so as to restore to the office of the season its due predominance in use and in dignity; in 1602[3] the tendency was to give the *Sanctorale* the preponderance. And

[1] The corrections proposed by Baronius are preserved in the MSS., Q. 33 and G. 83 of the Vallicellan Library. The corrections of Bellarmine are in MS. G. 90 of the same library. Bergel, pp. 362 *et sqq.*

[2] On the other hand, the festival of the stigmata of S. Francis was suppressed; but not for long: Paul V made haste to restore it.

[3] Schober, p. 57. *Breviarium Romanum ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum, Pii V Pont. Max. jussu editum, et Clementis VIII auctoritate recognitum.* Rome, 1602.

the example thus set by Clement VIII was destined to be followed more and more by his successors.

Since the beginning of the sixteenth century, under Leo X, Clement VII, Paul IV, Pius V, and Clement VIII, we have now seen five reforms of the old breviary of the Roman *Curia:* we have to add a sixth, that of Urban VIII.

This also, like the others, was provoked by the complaints of several pious and learned persons, who represented that the Roman breviary still contained faulty elements:—

> Piorum doctorumque virorum judicia et vota conquerentium in eo contineri non pauca, quae sive a nitore institutionis excidissent, sive inchoata potius quam perfecta forent ab aliis, certe a nobis supremam manum imponi desiderarent.[1]

Urban VIII appointed a congregation in response to these requests.[2] It was presided over by Cardinal Louis Gaëtani, and composed of nine consultators, several of whom were famous: Terence Alciati, a Jesuit, who prepared the History of the Council of Trent, published after his death by Cardinal Pallavicini; Hilarion Rancati, a Cistercian, the curator of the Sessorian Library; Luke Wadding, a Franciscan, and the historian of his Order; and Bartholomew Gavanti, a Barnabite, the best liturgist of his time. The other five were: Tegrimi, Bishop of Assisi, secretary of the Congregation of Rites; Scacchi, an Augustinian, the Pontifical sacrist;[3] Ricardi, master of the Sacred Palace; Vulponi, an Oratorian; and Lanucci, a prelate of the *Signatura.*[4]

The consultators held sittings very regularly every fortnight, from July 12th, 1629, to December 11th, 1631. Their proceedings are known to us from the *Acta* of the congregation,

[1] Bull "*Divinam psalmodiam*".

[2] *Vatican Barberini*, XXII. 2: "Acta in Congregatione super emendatione Breviarii de mandato Ssmi Dni Nri Urbani Papae VIII ordinata, scripta et subscripta per me Tegrimum Tegrimium Episcopum Assisiensem, Secretarium praefatae Congregationis, ab eodem Ssmo specialiter deputatum," etc. I have consulted another copy of these same *Acta* in MS. *Vat. Lat.* 6098. At the head of the *Acta* we read: "Die XII Julii, 1629, habita fuit prima Congregatio super emendatione Breviarii, in Palatio illmi Cardinalis Caetani, in qua interfuerunt idem illmus Caetanus; R. P. D. Fortunatus Scacchus Ssmi D. N. Sacrista; Nicolaus Ricardi M. Sacri palatii; Lanuccius sign. referend.; Jacobus Vulponius, Congr. Oratorii; Barth. Gavantus, Barnabita; Petruccius S.J., loco Terentii Alciati infirmi, S.J.; Hilarion, Abbas S. Crucis in Hierusalem; Lucius Vuaadingus O.M.;" Alciati was present at the succeeding sittings.

[3] Bäumer mentions, in the MS. S. 3, 2 of the *Bibliotheca Angelica* at Rome, *Acta in S. Congreg. Rit. pro correctione Martyrologii et Breviarii Romani, cum adnotationibus M. Fortunati Scacchi.*

[4] [A department of the Roman Chancery.—A. B.]

and the corrections they proposed are marked in a copy of the Clementine breviary which we have ourselves examined.[1] The chief business of the congregation was in the first place to bring the text of the breviary into agreement with that of the Vulgate:—

> Ut sacrae Vulgatae editionis puritas inconfusa et illibata servetur, etiam quoad interpunctiones et distinctiones in sacris Bibliis appositas.[2]

Further, to facilitate the chanting of the psalms, it was decided to mark the mediation in each verse by an asterisk:—

> Placuit alias notas comminisci propter partitiones versuum, et mediationes cantui accommodatas, ita ut asteriscus sit nota musicae partitionis in medio versu, inchoatio novae lineae sectionum versus faciat ad usum chori.[3]

Attention was also paid to establishing accordance between the text of the breviary and that of the missal and the martyrology. Orthography was rendered uniform after this fashion: *Bethleem* was corrected into *Bethlehem*, *quidpiam* into *quippiam*, *pedisequas* into *pedissequas*, etc. Initial capital letters were put to some substantives which had only hitherto had small ones. Literary purists changed *enim* into *etenim*, or wrote *sint similes* instead of *similes sint*, and so forth.[4]

Verbal ameliorations were introduced into some few passages from SS. Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and other fathers, suggested by improved editions of their works lately published. We find one instance of a really critical correction, and that not one specially necessary: they did away with three unlucky lessons in the second nocturn of the fifth Sunday after Epiphany—bearing the name of S. Ambrose, but really taken from the writings of some pseudo-Ambrose—and replaced them with something from S. Augustine. If they had looked about a little, the consultators could have found in the Clementine breviary passages more open to condemnation than this of the pseudo-Ambrose. But indeed the times were not yet ripe for criticism of this kind.

Speaking of the legends of the saints, Gavanti tells us that, having been reformed under Clement VIII by Bellarmine and Baronius with a severe exactness which spared nothing that was doubtful, the text of these could hardly be rendered more historically correct: the revisers therefore determined on making the fewest possible changes. They adopted the

[1] *Vat. Lat.* 6099-6100. [2] *Acta*, sitting of 2 March, 1630.
[3] Same sitting (*Vat. Lat.* 6098, fol. 50). [4] *ibid.*

principle of retaining even controverted facts, provided that, having the support of some one grave author, they might be deemed to possess some probability.

Quae controversa erant, alicujus tamen gravis auctoris testimonio suffulta dum aliquam haberent probabilitatem, retenta sunt eo modo quo erant; quum falsitatis argui non possint, quamvis fortasse altera sententia sit a pluribus recepta.[1]

"Probabilism," which did not defend the casuists against the danger of lax moral doctrine, led the consultators of Urban VIII into regrettable decisions. Their corrections of the historical lessons of the breviary are few in number, about a dozen altogether, and relate for the most part to mere editorial details:[2] but two of them call for notice. In the lessons for Pope Fabian (Jan. 20th), they suppressed the following sentence:—

Eo Pontifice in Africa excitata est haeresis a Novato, contendente apostatas poenitentes ab Ecclesia recipiendos non esse.

These words, inspired by the *Liber Pontificalis*, might well have been retained. In the lessons for S. James the Greater (July 25th) the Clementine breviary had mentioned S. James's journey into Spain as a tradition originally peculiar to the Spanish Churches.[3] The consultators of Urban VIII, with less discretion, wrote; "*In Hispaniam profectus ibi aliquos ad Christum convertit.*"[4]

By an inspiration still less happy, S. Eustace, who had been reduced to a commemoration, was now raised to a semi-double, and had assigned to him three lessons, which we still continue to read. The selection of lessons for the re-introduced festival of S. Joachim shows a sense of criticism easily enough satisfied.

At the same time new saints made their appearance in the breviary, and, to begin with, there was a promotion of kings and queens: SS. Henry, Stephen of Hungary, Hermengild, and Elizabeth of Portugal.[5]

[1] Gavanti, *Thesaur. sac. rit.* t. II. p. 75.

[2] See a full account of these corrections in Bäumer, t. II. pp. 298-301.

[3] See above, p. 215.

[4] Bäumer, t. II. p. 301, mentions, in the Vallicellan Library, MS. G. 76, fol. 141-51, a memorandum sent from Spain, pleading in favour of S. James's having come into that country: "It relied, among other arguments, on certain letters in Hebrew, dated A.D. 35 or 36, and written by Jews of Spain or of Jerusalem, of which the translation was preserved at Toledo".

[5] Schober, p. 63; Bäumer, t. II. p. 283.

Except for these innovations, Urban VIII's reform would have left no other record than that of a typographical revision, if, alongside of the liturgists whose work we have just considered, there had not been sitting another Commission, to whom Urban VIII had entrusted the reform which perhaps he had most at heart. It was composed of four Jesuits, Fathers Strada, Gallucci, Sarbiewski and Petrucci, who, under the personal direction of the Pope—himself a poet—were the workmen responsible for the correction of the hymnal. Urban VIII, like all the Barberini of the seventeenth century, was a man of literary tastes, and has put his name to a volume of Latin verse.[1] In the breviary were inserted three compositions of his, the hymns for SS. Martina, Hermengild, and Elizabeth of Portugal, somewhat formally scholastic.[2] We know also, thanks to a letter from Strada to the Pope, that the latter laboured personally at the re-handling of the ancient hymns of the breviary.[3]

Urban VIII thought to give satisfaction to the taste of his time by correcting the prosody—if prosody it can be called—of the ecclesiastical hymns. In the same way the Barberini and many others restored the antique statues, attaching to them new limbs which are a greater disfigurement to them than all the mutilations inflicted on them by the rude hand of time! That these Jesuits outran their commission, and, under pretext of restoring the language of the hymns in accordance with the rules of metre and good grammar, deformed the works of Christian antiquity, is a thing now universally acknowledged. Here is one example. We print in italics the few words of the original preserved in the revised version :— [4]

[1] Maf. Barberini, *Poemata* (Rome, 1631). Father Matthias Sarbiewski was also a poet, and his contemporaries compared him to Horace! C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Paris, 1896), t. VII. p. 629.

[2] These are the opening stanzas of two of these hymns :—

Martinae celebri plaudite nomini,
Cives Romulei plaudite gloriae,
Insignem meritis dicite virginem,
Christi dicite martyrem.

Regali solio fortis Iberiae
Hermenegilde jubar, gloria martyrum,
Christi quos amor almis
Caeli coetibus inserit.

[3] See this document in full, p. 233.

[4] In Daniel, *Thesaurus hymnologicus* (Halle, 1841) will be found the text of the Roman hymnal of Urban VIII, parallel with the ancient text: also in *Hymni de Tempore et de Sanctis* (Solesmes, 1885).

ORIGINAL TEXT.	REFORMED TEXT.
Conditor alme siderum, Aeterna Lux credentium ; Christe, Redemptor omnium, Exaudi preces supplicum.	Creator *alme siderum,* *Aeterna Lux credentium ;* Jesu, *Redemptor omnium* Intende votis *supplicum.*
Qui condolens interitu Mortis perire saeculum, Salvasti mundum languidum, Donans reis remedium.	*Qui* daemonis ne fraudibus Periret orbis, impetu Amoris Tui, languidi Mundi medela factus es.
Vergente mundi vespere, Uti sponsus de thalamo, Egressus honestissima Virginis matris clausula.	Commune qui mundi nefas Ut expiares ad Crucem, E Virginis sacrario Intacta prodis Victima.
Cujus forti potentiae Genu curvantur omnia, Caelestia, terrestria, Nutu fatentur subdita.	*Cujus* potestas gloriae, Nomenque quumprimum sonat, Et caelites et inferi Tremente curvantur genu.
Te deprecamur, Hagie, Venture Judex saeculi, Conserva nos in tempore Hostis a telo perfidi.	*Te deprecamur,* ultimae Magnum diei Judicem, Armis supernae gratiae Defende nos ab hostibus.

At the present time, all the world agrees in regretting this modernization of the ancient hymns. Urban VIII and his versifiers started from a wrong principle, through ignorance of the rules of rhythmic poetry, a kind of poetry quite misunderstood in an age when people in all simplicity believed the hymns of S. Thomas Aquinas to have been composed "Etrusco rhythmo".[1] It would be cruel to insist further on such a mistake.

[1] This phrase occurs in the introduction prefixed to the *Hymni Breviarii Romani, Ss. D. N. Urbani VIII jussu, et S. R. C. approbatione, emendati et editi* (Rome, 1629). The approbation of the Congregation of Rites is dated March 17th, 1629. Father Sommervogel (1895), t. VI. p. 633, quotes a severe criticism of the ancient hymns collected by Father Brotier from three letters, written to Father Labbe from Rome by Father Cavalli, a Franciscan: "I have seen Father Jeremy Petrucci, who wrote the hymns in the new Roman breviary, approved by Urban VIII, who punishes with excommunication any who print the old ones. If you have the new hymns, which have been printed separately, you will see that on the last page the corrector says that he has corrected as many as 952 false quantities, and that anyone who cares to make a thorough examination *facile mille errores deprehendet.* But Urban VIII speaks more respectfully of these ancient hymns. . . ." For a reasoned-out criticism of this unhappy correction of the hymnal by Urban VIII, see U. Chevalier, *Poésie liturgique traditionelle* (Tournai, 1894), p. xlix-lxi.: also D. Bouix, *De jure liturgico*, p. 319. The French translator of Bäumer, t. II. p. 293, records the desire expressed by the Commission on the Gregorian chant, appointed by Pius X, for a return to the ancient text of the hymns, "which would facilitate the proper execution of the Gregorian melodies."

Urban VIII's revision was promulgated by the bull "*Divinam Psalmodiam*," on January 25th, 1631, and the breviary came forth from the Vatican press the next year.[1]

The revision of Urban VIII closes the series of revisions in the text of the Roman breviary made by the Holy See down to our own times. In some sort, one may say that the breviary of Urban VIII, in accordance with the wish expressed by himself in the bull "*Divinam Psalmodiam*," has become the Vulgate of the breviary.

But was this Vulgate of the breviary as free from faults as one would have wished? If in 1602, and again in 1632, matter for correction was found, did those two revisions exhaust the sum of desirable amendments? Were not more important sacrifices needed than those to which the criticism of Sirleto, timid in attitude and premature as regards the possession of necessary liturgical science; the criticism of Baronius, too much centred on chronology and controverted historical events; the criticism of the time of Urban VIII, coldly literary and formal, had each in their turn consented? Had not the introduction, since 1568, and indeed since 1632, of so great a number of new offices run counter to the main object aimed at by Pius V? In other words, was not a new and more stringent revision desirable? It was the question which the Gallican Church began to look upon as ripe for treatment, and which the Holy See itself was eventually to take in hand.

EXCURSUS C.

REPORT OF LEONARDO MARINI TO PIUS V.[2]

Ill^mo^ et R^mo^ Mons^r^.

Perchè si comprendi bene in che consiste la correttione del Breviario qual si è fatta, par sia bene narrar da principio l' ordine dell' ufficio e modo che già un tempo fa si teneva, et come si sia venuto in quest' uso che oggi s' osserva, et la causa che ci hà mossi hora di tornar in parte all' antico, et in parte variare dall' uso hodierno: et l' uno et l' altro uso, cioè l' antico et moderno che al presente si osserva è fondato sopra il c. di Gelasio *S^ta^ Rom^a^ Ecc^a^*, e di Greg. VII *In die resurrectionis*, se ben quanto al modo di dirlo si è alquanto variato.

[1] *Breviarum Romanum ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum, Pii V Pont. Max. jussu editum, et Clementis VIII primum, nunc denuo Urbani VIII PP. auctoritate recognitum*, Rome, 1632. The corrected hymnal only became definitely obligatory in 1643, in virtue of the bull "*Quum alias*" (April 27). Schober, p. 62. In spite of this, it has never been received by the basilica of S. Peter. [Nor by the Benedictines, Cistercians, Dominicans, etc.—A. B.]

[2] Vatican Archives, *Concil. Trident.* 47, fol. 312-18.

Già ottanta o novanta anni sono l' officio si celebrava o di nove, o di tre lettioni. Di nove quando l' ufficio era doppio o semidoppio. Di tre quando l' ufficio era di festa semplice o feria. Quanto all' officio doppio, semidoppio e feriale, niente si variava da quello si usa hoggidi, quanto alle feste semplici vi era qualche differentia. Imperocché queste si celebravano col notturno della feria e tre lettioni del S^to^, facendo in tutto il restante l' officio del S^to^ come hoggidi si costuma con tal ordine, se dimane fosse occorso un santo semplice hoggi al capitolo del Vespro si pigliava del S^to^ e tutto il restante dell' ufficio fin al matutino, come hoggidi si fa. Al matutino si diceva l' invitatorio et himno del S^to^, il notturno della feria secondo sta distribuito nel psalterio, tre lettioni con tre responsorii del S^to^. Poi le laudi et tutte l' hore includendo solamente Nona, si faceva come hoggi si costuma. Da nona in la non si faceva più del S^to^ semplice, ma dicevano i psalmi del Vespero feriali, et se nel giorno seguente d' altra festa semplice, si pigliava dal capitolo con l' ordine predetto, se non vi erafesta si seguitava l' ufficio feriale. Queste feste semplici se fossero occorse in giorno impedito da qualche festa doppia o semidoppia, non si transferivano come hoggi si fà, ma si faceva di loro la commemorattione al primo Vespero et al matutino. L' officio della Madonna si diceva sempre, eccetto che nelle feste doppie et in alcune ottave. L' officio de' morti si diceva sempre nelle feste semplici e nelle ferie. Nel tempo della quaresima facendosi di continuo de feria, eccetto che non fosse stata festa doppia e semidoppia, ottra all' officio della Madonna e delli morti, vi si aggiungevano i sette psalmi con le letanie e i graduali. Nell' officio feriale poi à tutte l' hore in fine vi si dicevano le preci feriali col Miserere come hoggi anco si fà eccetto nel tempo Pasquale. Le feste doppie e semidoppie si celebravano con nove psalmi e nove lettioni, come s' è detto, et essendo impedite da qualche festa maggiore si transferivano nel p^o^ giorno vacante di simil festa, e tra di loro non vi era altra differentia, se non che nelle semidoppie si diceva l' officio della Madonna, non si dupplicavano le ant^e^, si facevano le commemorattioni al Vespero, et matutino, et à prima et compieta si dicevano le preci consuete, le quali cose anco haggi si osservano.

Hor perchè l' ufficio delle feste semplici e feriale allhora era troppo gravato dicendosi con l' officio della Madonna l' officio de' morti, e nel feriale le preci, e nella quaresima le altre cose predette, per volerlo sgravare, e far che l' officio fosse più tollerabile, fu introdotto il modo che al presente si osserva, cioè che le feste semplici quali erano di tre lettioni fossero di nove lettioni, et si facesse di loro come delle feste semidoppie, et essendo impedite d' altra festa doppia si transferissero nel p^o^ giorno vacante, talche non si facesse più di loro commemorattione. Et in questo modo si viene à schifare due cose: l' uno à schifare l' officio de' morti qual si diceva nelle feste semplici, ma non nelle feste semidoppie, rimanendo solo come in quelle l' officio della Madonna: l' altra che transferendo tutte le feste semplici si viene ad

occupar tutti li giorni feriali, et si fugge la gravezza della feria, et cosi si osserva hoggidi.

Ma si è visto alla giornata che questo modo che al presente si osserva introdotto come si vede solamente per fuggire la gravezza dell' officio hà causato maggiori inconvenienti di quelli di prima. Imperocchè questo transferir de' Santi ne apporta gran confusione nella Chiesa, transferendosi diversamente in diverse chiese e celebrandosi in un medesimo giorno in una medesima città in diversi luoghi et da diverse persone diversi S^ti^, et in oltre si transferiscono molte volte quattro e cinque mesi lontano: cosa che à ogni persona religiosa dà gran fastidio. Poi perchè con questo transferir de' S^ti^ si occupano tutte le ferie, ne nasce quest' altro inconveniente che rarissime volte nell' anno si fà l' officio de feria, e quel che è peggio nella quaresima ogni giorno si fà de S^to^ essendo cio interditto per i sacri canoni per esservi li officii proprii, si come anco si osserva nel missale. Et da queste ne nasce ancora, che non si legge se non pochissimo della scrittura, havendosi pero a leggere in ciascun tempo secondo la distributione di Gelasio, e similmente il psalterio, quale nel Breviario è stato compartito da leggersi per tutta la sentimana, con questo modo mai si legge se non rarissimo, e quelli del commune de' S^ti^ sono tutto 'l di in bocca delli huomini con tedio e fastidio d' ogniuno. E questo ha causato grand' ignorantia nei clerici, perciochè non ha[n] prattica alcuna nè de' psalmi, nè della scrittura. E quando pur un giorno occorre far de feria s' ingarbugliano, ne sanno donde cominciare, rimanendo pero grave come anticamente di tanti altri offitii e preci che mai finiscono, et il psalterio qual bisognava che anticamente i Vescovi sapessero tutto a mente, come scrive S. Gregorio, se dorevano promoversi hora a pena si vede.

Si che per provedere alli sudetti disordini et inconvenienti che dal presente uso ne riusciscono. Il sacrosanto Concilio Tridentino per li richiami che in diversi tempi da diverse bande sopra cio son nati, inspirato da Spirito S^to^ delibero providerci condeputare alcuni prelati sopa la correttione di simil disordini, et [*non*] havendo possuto mandarlo, essecuttione per l' espedittione del Concilio questo negotio, lo hà rimesso à N^ro^ Sig^re^, il qual subito convocato in Roma alcuni Prelati che sopra di cio dal Concilio erano stati deputati, acciò deliberassero quel tanto che bisognava. I quali havendo ben discusso il negocio et maturamente considerato, lo hanno ridotto à perfettione seguitando e tenendo l'infrascritto ordine.

Si è considerato che il modo antico in se era buono, ma per l' aggiunta d' alcuni officii aggiunti era diventato nojoso: pero si è atteso a ridur l' officio all' antico e moderar le cose che sin allhora come al presente aggravano l' officio.

Si è visto che l' officio delle feste semplici era ben ordinato, poichè si deve pur far differentia da feste semplici à più solenne. Nelle feste solenni appresso li antichi si facevano le viligie in diverse parti dela notte, le quali si son conservate in quei tre notturni quali si dis-

tinguono nelle feste di nove lettioni, e di qui era che appresso li più antichi l' officio si faceva di pochissimi santi, quali erano più solenni che havevano le vigilie, si come appare in alcuni antichissimi Breviarii, et di questo parla il c. *In die resurrectionis, si festum est novem lectiones*, perochè in quelli tempi si faceva sempre di feria, et il martirologio suppliva alli altri S^ti^, si come anco alcuni officii monachali osservano. Ma essendo poi nel calend^o^ aggionti molti altri S^ti^, pareva fosse conveniente farvi qualche differentia dalli altri più solenni, facendoli col notturno della feria per non interrompere il corso del psalterio, e nel resto tutto l' officio fosse del S^to^, non li dando pero à differentia del doppio e semidoppio se non il primo Vespero. E questo modo si trova osservato in tutti i Breviarii vecchi, et ancora osservano alcune provincie e religioni. Pero parendo raggionevole alli sudetti Sig^ri^ deputati, han voluto restituire l' officio delle feste semplici col notturno della feria come p^a^ non variando in altro dall' antico, se non che doppo la terza lettione si lassa il 3^o^ responsorio, et si dice il Te Deum. Et questo si è fatto per far differentia dalla festa alla feria et per non variare dall' uso comune che si dice il *Gloria in excelsis* à ogni S^to^ nella messa, et anco fare di loro la commemoratione essendo impedite d' altra festa maggiore, per far differenza tra queste alle altre feste più solenni le quali si transferiscono, et per evitare la confusione che di sopra si è detto, et per non impedir l' officio feriale, come al presente si fa. E perchè questo officio di feste semplici appresso li antichi era troppo grave per li altri officii aggionti, si è pigliato espediente di levar l' officio demorti, il qual non si dica ogni giorno, tanto nelle feste semplici, come nelle ferie, ma solo alcuni giorni, cioè ogni p^o^ di del mese, e nelli giorni che si fa l' officio della vigilia e dei quattro tempi come di sotto si dirà, e nell' Advento e quaresima ogni Lunedi, e cosi si viene à sgravare anco la feria, la quale si è sgravata anco dalle preci, quali non si dicono se non nell' Advento e quaresima e nelle vigilie e quattro Tempi, non à tutte l' hore, come hora si fa, ma al Vespero solo, et alle laudi. In oltre le ferie della quaresima si son sgravate in parte dalle altre cose, facendo che i sette salmi e graduali non si dicono ogni giorno, ma dispensandoli per la settimana. Il Mercordi li graduali, li sette salmi il Venerdi, talche cosi non si leva affatto quel che fin qua si è usato, ma si son moderate talmente che viene ad esser leggiero il dir dell' officio senza che alcuno si possa richiamare.

L' officio delle feste doppie e semidoppie si è lassato come sempre, et hora si è costumato.

Quel che oltre al sopradetto ordine si è fatto è questo. Perchè si vede in effetto che per la moltiplicattione di feste si occupano molti giorni ne i quali non si legge della scrittura, però è parso alli sudetti Sig^ri^ deputati far che ogni giorno, o si facci l' officio del S^to^ o della feria, sempre si leggi qualche cosa della scrittura di quel libro che corre. Et in questo si tiene quest' ordine. Quando si fa l' officio di nove lettioni, le prime tre del p^o^ notturno siano della scrittura;

quando di tre lettioni, se si fà del S^to over si legge l' homelia la 1ª over la 2ª lettione sara della scrittura, la 2ª over la 3ª sarra della leggenda del S^to over dell' homelia, secondo le leggende saranno brevi o longhe da mettere in una o due lettioni. Si eccettuano da questo alcuni giorni come nelle ottave di Pasqua resurrettione e Pentecoste, nelle quali si dicono le tre lettioni dell' homelia secondo il dec(reto) di Greg^o nel c. *In die resurrectionis.*

Et perchè tra le cose che si oppongono all' officio vecchio una ne è che ben spesso l' officio non si accorda col missale, dicendosi l' officio d' una cosa et la messa dell altro, si è ordinato accio vi sia sempre conformità che nelle vigilie e quattro tempi che hanno messa propria, si faccia l' officio feriale corrispondente alla messa.

Di più perchè si vuole anco opporre al Breviario vecchio circa l'officio Dominicale, che in alcune cose è diffettuoso prima che la Domenica che è giorno festivo, et da tutto il Christianesimo celebrato, habbia à cedere à feste semidoppie, et à giorni infra ottava che sono inferiori alla Domenica come hora si fà, si è ordinato che questo più non sia, ma la festa semidoppia di qual sorte si voglia, et il giorno fra l' ottave ceda alla Domenica, la qual non si lasci mai se non fosse festa doppia fuor della quaresima et Advento, ne i quali tempi non si lasci et per festa doppia come hora si fà. Et perchè l' officio della Domenica nel matutino è più longo delli altri giorni dicendosi 18 salmi, e poi quando i preti bisogna attendino alle lor cure per sublevamento l' officio se li rappresenta longhissimo con dieci altri salmi, la qual cosa è sempre stata tediosa in modo che l' è venuto in proverbio sarria mai longa come la prima della Domenica, e nel conc^o, secondo han referto quei Sig^ri deputati, fu detto espressamente si abbreviasse. Si è pensato per non lassar quei salmi quali à quella conseguitano, si distribuiscano per la settimana cinque salmi che avanzano il salmo *Beati immaculati*, uno per giorno quando l' officio si fà di feria, et questo è un modo facilissimo e breve. Inoltre perchè il numero delle Domeniche è imperfetto al numero di quelle che possano occorrere doppo la Epiphania e doppo la Pentecoste, et questo causa quella confusione et intrico delle Domeniche vacanti, che si fà tra l' anno, pero per obviare à questo et per far la cosa piana, si è fatto che quando avanzano Domeniche doppo la Epiphania quelle si aggiunghino doppo la penultima Domenica doppo la Pentecoste, rimanendo l' ultima, la quale ha corrispondentia con la 1ª Domenica dell' Advento sempre in ultimo luogo. E perchè al numero di quelle che possono essere vi manca una Domenica, vi si è aggiunto un' altra Domenica pigliando solo l' homelia dell' evangelio et oratione, si come habbiamo trovato in un antico missale di libraria, qual dicono il Missale di S. Gregorio. Si è fatto anco per più consolattione di quelli che diranno l' officio, che nel 2º notturno la Domenica si legghi qualche sermone di Dottore ecclesiastico sopra i detti della scrittura che in quel tempo si legge.

Di più perchè si trova alcuna differenza fra le ottave, alcune si chia-

mano ottave Domini Sabaoth, alcune sono de' santi, tra alcune di queste ottave si fà l' offitio delle Domeniche occorrenti al modo dell' ottava, tra alcune altre si fà delle feste infra quelle occurrenti; ci è parso dar qualche ordine generale delle ottave, il quale è questo, che quando il giorno dell' ottava è doppio, li giorno infra ottava siano semidoppii, e cosi si faranno di nove lettioni et della Domenica infra l' ottava si fara al modo dell' ottava eccetto l' oratione l' homelia e i capitoli. Delli S^ti^ che tra quella occorreno non si farrà se non son doppii, et in questo modo si celebraranno tutte le ottava del Sig^re^ cioè quello di Natale, Epiphania, Ascensione e Corpo di Christo. Quelle delle Pasque hanno il suo ordinario. Nell' altre ottave che il giorno dell' ottava è semidoppio, infra l' ottava si farà al modo del semplice, e delli S^ti^ semplici et Vergine occurrenti si farrà l' officio al modo dell' ottava, della Domenica infra quella si farrà al modo consueto con commemoratione dell' ottava.

Perchè da i moderni son state aggionte alcune ottave senza necessità le quali impediscono l' officio currente, però si è levato l' ottava alla Conceptiona della Madonna quale impedisce l' officio dell' Advento, e l' ottava della Visitatione quale impedisce l' ottava di S. Pietro e s. Paolo che anticamente si faceva, e si son lassate alla Madonna dell' Assumptione e della Nativita in settembre.

Perchè anco si vede in molte provincie e Regni che il sabbato è in gran veneratione della Madonna per haver à essere questo breviario comune, accio le altre nationi di ciò non piglino admiratione, si è preso per espediente che ogni volta che il sabbato non è impedito da alcuna festa si facci l' officio della Madonna, eccetto la quaresima e nelle ferie de' quattro Tempi e delle Vigilie, et perchè non s' interrompi l' ordine del psalterio si è ordinato si faccia al modo della festa semplice col notturno della feria.

Perchè si oppone anco al Breviario vecchio tra l' altre cose che dan fastidio, che nelle leggende de S^ti^ si leggono molte cose apochriphe, et di alcune leggende si legge pochissimo e niente di quello appartiene alla vita del S^to^, et anco sconciamente e con parole che più tosto possono talvota offendere le menti semplici, non servando ne il decoro ne l' honestà Christina, però sopra di ciò si è fatto più e più volte dalli sudetti Sig^ri^ Deputati discussione, e finalmente si è risoluto che miglior modo non si poteva tenere che cavando da tutte le historie de S^ti^ le cose più authentiche, si facci una compilatione, e di ciascun santo in brevità et con un stile mediocre che habbia dell' ecclesiastico, toccar le cose più importanti che faccino ad edificatione et sodisfattione di quelli che le leggeranno. Ne à questo obsta, che non si usino le parole istesse de i lor scritori, prima perchè acciò siano più copiose, son prese da più scrittori e da più luoghi, poi perchè alcune son state scritte da loro in molte carte che è difficile usando le lor parole restringerle in compendio (anchor quando si sono havute scritte succintamente de Autori authentici, come di S. Hieronimo nel libro delli scrittori ecclesiastici si son

lassate). Ma se bene questo non si è possuto sempre servare, non per questo resta che quando il breviario sarrà approbate da N^ro^ Sig^re^ non habbia d' havere più autorità, che se habbino dalli lor autori. Presupponendosi che quello sarrà approbato da S. S^ta^, sia stato prima considerato e preso da autori più authentici che sia stato possibile, non si havendo à dar regola in questo al Papa. Et tanto più nelli Breviarii antichi non si è mai usata questa diligentia di nominare li autori, essendo in diversi Breviarii diversi legendarii et erano appresso li antichi *gesta martirum* scritti dalli Prothonotarii, quali andavano attorno senza authore, si come S. Gregorio parlando in una homelia di S. Felicita dice haverlo preso dalli suoi gesti non nominando autore, cosi parimente si dirà habbia fatto Papa Pio, quando havrà approbato e mandato fuora il Breviario, come fecero Papa Clemente e Paolo nel Breviario di S^ta^ Croce, e quelle vite sono giudicate la miglior cosa che sia in quel Breviario, e pure compilate da letterati di que tempo, delle quali vite li sopradetti Sig^ri^ deputati havevano pensato dal principio di servirsene, ma perchè gli occorse doppo longa consideratione, che anco quelle si si potevano migliorare gli piacque questa risolutione che si scrivessero nel modo detto supplendo à molti diffetti, che si nella verità dell' historia, si nel modo di scriverle la si trovavano. Il che tanto piacque à quei Sig^ri^ che dissero non osserci cosa della quale più si sodisfacessero, et Mons. di Modena di propria mano ne scrisse sei o sette con mirabil contento, e poi stando male mi fece promettere di essere insieme con m. Giulio Poggiano e condurre à fine queste vite nel modo cominciato. Nel che spero habbia essere con l' ajuto di Dio cosa che farà che si laudi la matura deliberatione di quei signori.

Et in tutto quello si è fatto si è havuto rispetto non si muti cosa alcuna delli libri delle Chiese et il modo è facilissimo.

Occorreno delle altre cosette che nel contesto del Breviario son state corrette delle quali hora non mi estendo à rendere raggione parendomi haver tocco le cose più principali quanto spetta all' ordine di tutto il Breviario: quelle nel scorrere del Breviario si potranno un' altra volta dire etc.[1]

EXCURSUS D.

PROSPECTUS OF THE REVISION OF CLEMENT VIII.[2]

CAPITA PRECIPUA IN REPURGATIONE BREVIARII ROMANI EXAMINATA, QUAE S^mo^ D^no^ N^o^ CLEMENTI VIII PROPONUNTUR, EIUS IUDICIO AC CENSURAE SUBMISSA.

In primis lectiones de vita et gestis sanctorum, quae plurimis erroribus refertae sunt, ad historiae veritatem reducuntur, quam minima fieri potest mutatione, retentis etiam iis quae probabilia sunt et falsitatis omnino coargui non possunt. Ac de omnibus singillatim redditur ratio, ut mox sequetur.

[1] The document ends here abruptly.

[2] Bibl. Vatic. Lat. 6096, fol. 88-9.

2. In numerandis Romanorum Pontificum annis, in quo scriptores inter se valde dissentiunt, placet recipiendum esse computum ab Illmo Dno cardinale Baronio in Annal. Eccl. observatum, qui magno studio ac diligentia ex probatis auctoribus ab eo deductus est. In ordinationibus vero, Librum pontificalem inscriptum Damasi nomine, cum aliunde quidquam certius haberi non possit.

3. Festa eorum sanctorum, qui post emendationem Pii V breviario Romano additi fuerunt, videlicet Romualdi, Francisci de Paula, Petri martyris, Stanislai episcopi, Antonii de Padua et Nicolai de Tolentino, sub officio semiduplici celebrari debere omnino videtur, id quod a plurimis viris piis et in rebus ecclesiasticis exercitatis summopere expetitur, et maxime a Germanis et Polonis catholicis, apud quos solemnitas diei dominici in magna veneratione habetur, et aegre patiuntur ut illius officium saepe omittendum sit ob alicuius sancti festum, qui inter maiores non censeatur. Praeterea incongruum videtur ut insigniores martyres ac multi Summi Pontifices habeant officium semiduplex, vel etiam simplex, et plures ex recentioribus, qui in aliquibus provinciis parum cogniti sunt, celebrentur cum officio duplici.

4. Horum sanctorum lectiones in breviorem formam redactae sunt, quae ob superfluum verborum circuitum omnibus displicebant.

5. Lectiones ex sermonibus et homiliis SS. Patrum, cum ipsorum auctorum libris et mss. et melioris notae impressis diligenter collatae sunt, et in iis tantum locis mutatae, qui omnino corrupti erant, qui quidem etsi non pauci sint, parva tamen apparebit varietas, cum plerumque unius verbi, interdum etiam syllabae mutatione restituantur.

6. Lectiones ex Patribus collectae, ut communibus sanctorum adderentur, in uno quoque communi septem dierum officio assignatae pro iis ecclesiis, quae festum proprii patroni cum octava celebrare consueverunt, nec habent lectiones proprias de eius vita et gestis, unde coguntur eas quae in die festi positae sunt saepe repetere; extra Breviarium edentur seorsum, ne Breviarii volumen excrescat; potissimum vero, quia in Breviario Romano ea tantum apponuntur, quae ab omnibus necessario debent, hae autem maiori parti ecclesiarum deservire non possunt, cum plures dedicatae sint in honorem illorum sanctorum, quibus in universali ecclesia tribuitur octava; plures quoque habeant lectiones proprias pro omnibus octavae diebus; multae non habeant consuetudinem celebrandi octavam proprii patroni, cum ex regulis Breviarij ad hoc non obligentur. Tum etiam, quia hac additione remedium non adhibetur universo incommodo, quod urgere videbatur, cum plures festivitates remaneant sine lectionibus pro octavis, in iis scilicet ecclesiis, in quibus principalis titulus est festum sanctissimae Trinitatis, sanctae Crucis, Conceptionis, Praesentationis, Annuntiationis, Visitationis et Purificationis Beatae Mariae, item sancti Michaelis archangeli, Transfigurationis Domini etc.

7. Propositum fuit quod in rubrica de octavis apponenda esset

regula, qua prohiberentur celebrari octavae etiam proprii patroni in quadragesima occurrentis, ne impediatur per tot dies officium sacro illi tempori maxime accommodatum. Et similiter quod in quadragesima non possit fieri de aliquo festo, quod ante ipsam occurrat, et, cum ab aliis festivitatibus impediatur, transferendum esset intra eam.

8. Hymni levi manu repurgati sunt, ne qui eos si legere diu assueti sunt, vel memoria didicerunt, multis varietatibus perturbentur; tum etiam, quia facile credi potest, Christianos poetas, qui pietatem praecipue spectabant, in regulas artis metricae non inscitia sed voluntate plerumque peccasse. Tamen si S. D. N. aliud iubebit, notati sunt alii loci, qui corrigendi esse videntur.

9. Hymnus, Ad preces nostras, positus in dominicis quadragesimae, ad vesperas, sublatus est, qui quidem et verbis et sententiis ineptus videbatur, ac nulla pedum aut syllabarum ratione constabat: immo etiam superfluus erat, cum in omnibus officiis idem hymnus dicatur ad utrasque vesperas et nulla alia solemnitas, vel de tempore vel de sanctis, habeat plures quam tres hymnos. In commune sanctarum mulierum, in quo unus tantum hymnus habetur dicendus ad nocturnos, laudes et utrasque vesperas, duo alii addentur nuper compositi.

10. In communi confessorum non pontificum mutata sunt duo responsoria, quae omnibus convenire non possunt. In altero sunt haec verba: Et omnis terra doctrina eius repleta est. In altero: Ab adolescentia sua meruit infirmos curare. Similiter in communi sanctarum mulierum mutanda sunt duo alia responsoria, quae plures offendunt.

11. In lectione 5 sancti Iacobi apostoli delendum esset quod ipse peragraverit Hispaniam, ibique praedicaverit evangelium: cum multa his repugnent, et sine authentico testimonio sub Pio V primum inserta sint Breviario Romano. Vel si remanere debent, addendum "ut ferunt".

12. Festum sancti Didaci removendum est a Breviario Romano, et revocandum est breve ultimum, quod commissarius ordinis sancti Francisci per subreptionem et fraudem elicuit a S^mo D^no N^o, in quo sub praetextu quod Xystus V in bulla canonizationis huius sancti non expresserit qua solemnitate celebrandum sit eius officium in ecclesia universali, declaratur quod esse debeat cum officio semiduplici: cum tamen idem Xystus per suum breve declaraverit et concesserit nonnulla circa eiusdem festivitatem servanda in quibusdam locis, et nihil de ecclesia universali statuere voluerit; quod quidem non praetermisisset, cum fratres eius ordinis id instanter peterent, si faciendum esse putasset. Similiter Congregatio sacrorum Rituum, cum aliqui super hoc dubitarent, respondit nihil omnino de sancto Didaco agendum, nisi modo et forma a praedicto Xysto in suis constitutionibus praescripta. Et ita hucusque servatum est in basilica sancti Petri, et in aliis praecipuis urbis ecclesiis etiam post dicti brevis concessionem.

13. Sermo qui legitur in festo omnium sanctorum et per octavas, cum sit pulcherrimus, et fortasse nullus alius huic solemnitati magis

proprius reperiri posset, retinendus videtur, quamvis de auctore, seu potius collectore (nam totus ex verbis Cypriani et Chrysostomi compactus est) non constet qui fuerit; et cum venerabilis Bedae esse non credatur (cui tamen in multis mss. tribuitur, et inter eius opera excusus habetur) quia eius tempore festum hoc nondum institutum fuerat in universali ecclesia, placeret ut sub nomine beati Odonis abbatis Cluniacensis legeretur, cui adscriptus est in antiquo lectionario mss. sanctae Mariae ad Martyres.

14. Dominus cardinalis Baronius exposcit ut festum sanctorum Nerei et Achillei reponatur cum officio semiduplici, iisque adiungatur sancta Domitilla virgo et martyr, quam ipsi ad Christum converterunt, de cuius vita et martyrio, quod contigit sex dies ante, addatur lectio, quae erit sexta. Et in kalendario legendum erit sic: Sanctorum Nerei, Achillei, Domitillae virginis, atque Pancratii martyrum.

15. De lectione sanctae Petronillae iterum dubitatum fuit, an magis expediat illam omittere et eius loco legere unam de communi virginum, sicuti factum videmus in sancto Georgio, Margarita, et aliis, quorum acta sunt incerta et dubia. Et hoc idem censendum videtur de lectionibus sanctae Catharinae.

16. Die 5 januarii addita est commemoratio sancti Telesphori papae et martyris, quae reperitur in quibusdam antiquis breviariis.

17. Psalmi et lectiones de Scriptura ad novissimam bibliorum editionem redactae sunt.

18. Postremo, rubricae generales, atque illae etiam quae propriis locis adhibentur, diligenter examinatae sunt, et quas invicem contrarias ac inter se pugnantes animadvertimus, quoad fieri potuit conciliare studuimus, obscuras et ambiguas planius explicare, imperfectas ac mutilas supplere, superfluas resecare, servato tamen eodem ordine, immo nulla penitus in re immutato.

19. Videtur necessario apponendum S^{mi} D^{ni} N^{i} breve, in quo huius emendationis ratio aliqua reddatur, ne homines aliud novum breviarium esse suspicantes, scandali ansam accipiant. Et posset in hanc vel similem formam concipi.

Licet Pius V felicis recordationis, reformato a se Breviario Romano, per suam constitutionem prohibuerit ne aliquid in eo mutaretur, aut adderetur, vel minueretur, multorum tamen sive typographorum, sive aliorum audacia ac temeritas usqueadeo processit, ut nulla iam reperiantur Breviaria, quae a prima illa editione in plurimis non discrepent. Nam et lectiones de novo additae fuerunt; multas unusquisque suo arbitratu mutavit; psalmi et alii sacrarum scripturarum loci absque delectu ad vulgatam editionem redacti sunt; immo in aliquibus Breviariis posita est quaedam psalterii versio, quae nec cum vulgata, nec cum antiqua Romana consentit. Rubricae generales et particulares sub praetextu maioris explicationis immutatae, plures difficultates contradictionesque pariunt. Nos huic malo, quod magis magisque in dies augescit, occurrere necessarium iudicantes, Breviarium ipsum recognosci mandavimus, et cum prima illa praefati Pii V editione

collatum, restitutis iis quae depravata erant, diligentissime imprimi fecimus in nostra typographia Vaticana, districtius praecipientes ne quis in posterum quidquam in eo immutare, aut addere vel detrahere praesumat, sed integrum ipsum ac prorsus incorruptum, sicut modo editur, ab omnibus retineatur.

Quod ut facilius exequatur ac fidelius servetur, mandamus ordinariis et inquisitoribus locorum, ubi deinceps Breviaria excudentur, ut illa cum hac nostra editione diligenter conferri curent, et nisi cum ea omnino concordare repererint, licentiam publicandi et distrahendi non concedant, sed illa aboleri faciant, etc.

EXCURSUS E.

LETTER FROM FATHER STRADA TO URBAN VIII.[1]

BEATISSIMO PADRE.

Gia che è piaciuto alla Santita Vostra farmi parte d' alcuni hinni, dalla sua altretanto dotta, che santa mano ridotti in miglior forma, e commandarmi che sopra di essi le ne dia il mio parere, cosi l' obedisco. L' accomodamento mi è parso necessario, e con singular gratia aggiustate. Ho nondimeno qualche difficultà in tre o quattro cose, che qui alla S. V. rappresento, con quell' humiltà, che si deve all' altissimo suo sapere.

Quodcumque vinclis super terram strinxeris. La S. V. ha accomodata *Quodcumque vinculis humi revinxeris.* Non so se quel *humi* chiaramente risponde a quel *super terram* cioe tra gl' huomini et in questo mondo. Pero io, per non mi partir molto dall' antico, haveva pensato dire—in loco di

Quodcumque vinclis super terram strinxeris,—
Quodcumque vinclis hic in orbe strinxeris.

Nell' hinno

O lux beata Trinitas
Et principalis unitas etc.

la S. V. muta cosi :

Iam sol recedit igneus
Tu lux perennis unitas etc.

Iodoco Clictoueo nel suo " Elucidatorio degl' hinni " fa gran misteri sopra quel *principalis unitas*, dicendo tra l' altre cose : " Dicitur *unitas principalis*, quia omnis unitatis in rebus humanis est principium et fons, à qua quidquid in munde est unum, suam habet unitatem. Ita Deus ipse dicitur principalis veritas, principalis bonitas, virtus " etc. E veramente, come la S. V. sà meglio di tutti, la parola *principalis* si trova tal hora appresso buoni scrittori in sentimento simile à questo, come *principalis Maiestas* etc. Si che potendo pas-

[1] In the Victor Emmanuel Library at Rome, Sant-Onofrio Collection, 507 (formerly 136), fol. 1-3.

sare, massime per riverenza di S. Gregorio, di cui è l' hinno, la S. V. judicarà se è bene non lo mutare.

Nell' istesso hinno

Te nostra supplex gloria
Per cuncta laudet saecula

la S. V. accomoda :

O faxis ut te supplices
Laudemus inter coelites.

Se bene si potrebbe intendere per *supplex gloria, glorificatio, laus, praeconium quod a supplicibus datur,* alludendosi per parere di Clictoueo al verzetto *Gloria Patri, et Filio* etc., non dimeno la consideratione et emendatione della S. V. mi pare che prevaglino. Se pure non si giudicasse bene, per non allontanarsi molto dall' antico, dir cosi—in cambio di

Te nostra supplex gloria
Per cuncta laudet saecula,—
Te supplicum praeconia
Per cuncta laudent saecula.

Nell' hinno Fer. VI. ad Vesp. *Plasmator hominis Deus,* la S. V. muta cosi : *Deus creator siderum.* Descrivendosi in questo hinno della feria sesta le cose create da Dio nel sesto giorno, il che s' osserva negl' hinni del Vespero degl' altri giorni, non pare, che si possa o lasciar l' huomo, principal opra di quel giorno, o parlar delle stelle create nel quarto giorno, come si dice nell' hinno della feria quarta, *Lunae ministras ordinem, Vagosque cursus siderum.* Però per nonfar molta mutatione dirrei : *Plasmator o hominis Deus.*

Nello stesso hinno *Nobis dedisti subiciens* dalla S. V. in cambio di *subdens dedisti homini,* nel che rappresento alla S. V. se le paresse piu cantabile : *Mortalibus subieceris.*

Nell' hinno della B. V.

Memento salutis auctor,
Quod nostri quondam corporis,
Ex illibata Virgine
Nascendo formam sumpseris,

la S. V. muta cosi :

Salutis auctor sis memor,
Nostri quod artus corporis,
Sacrata ab alvo Virginis.
Nascendo in orbe sumpseris.

Questa strofe è presa dall' hinno del Natale, *Christe redemptor omnium,* hinno di S. Ambrosio, per riverenza del quale lo mutarei manco che fusse possibile. A me ueniua in mente un modo tale :

Salutis auctor aspice,
Nostri quod olim corporis,
De Virgine integerrima
Nascendo formam sumpseris.

Nell' hinno della B. V. *O gloriosa Domina* etc. *Lactasti sacro ubere*, la S. V. accomoda *Lactente nutris ubere*. Se bene è piu bello, *Lactente*, che *Lactante*, nondimeno come che questo sempre significa dare il latte, e quello per lo piu riceverlo, considerara la S. V. si deue haver tal riguardo.

Nell' istesso hinno *Vitam datam per Virginem* etc., la S. V. accomoda *Salus datur per Virginem* etc. Potendosi salvare quella maniera di dire, la S. V. giudicherà sa si deue ritenerse il primo.

Nell istesso

Gloria tibi Domine,
Qui natus es de Virgine,
Cum Patre, et Sancto Spiritu,
In sempiterna saecula,

la S. V. muta cosi :

Perenne in aevum Trinitas
Beata semper unitas
Nati, Patrisque et Spiritus
Laudetur himni cantibus.

Dovendosi usar questa strofe per clausula in tutti gl' hinni, che si dicono ne tempi che si fà l' offitio della B. V. o della Natività del Signore etc. par che necessariamente si debbia far particolare commemoratione della B. V. in qualche modo simile, con manco mutatione che si puo :

Jesu tibi sit gloria,
Qui natus es de Virgine
Cum Patre, Sancto et Spiritu,
In sempiterna saecula.

Con che prostrato avanti la S. V. con ogni riverenza le bacio i santissimi piedi.

Famiano Strada.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PROJECTS OF BENEDICT XIV.

DOM GUÉRANGER, in the second volume of his *Institutions Liturgiques*, has written the history of the Gallican reforms of the Roman breviary, and stated the case against them; and it would be difficult indeed to do either with greater spirit. And our readers will have sufficiently perceived (from the very beginning of our book onwards) the direction in which our personal preferences run, to feel sure that we consider that history as completely supporting our judgment, and that case as being legitimately and fully proved. But it will be far from being useless—following Dom Guéranger as concisely as possible—to give some account of these Gallican attempts to substitute for the Roman breviary of Pius V, Clement VIII and Urban VIII, something which called itself a better reformed breviary. For in these attempts we find on the one hand criticisms, and on the other hand fantastic notions, which between them are qualified to show us in what respects the work of Pius V and his successors was incomplete, and in what respects it was excellent.[1]

I have already told how the Roman breviary of S. Pius V was received in France, and especially at Paris. In 1643 the Archbishop of Paris, John Francis de Gondy, had the Parisian breviary of 1584 revised, in order to render it as fully conformed as possible to the Roman breviary: a good proof that the Roman breviary was at that time considered in France as that which, if not of obligation, was at all events the model to be followed. It is only when the reign of Louis XIV is well on its way that, concurrently with the disputes about the *regale*,[2] the first projects of liturgical reform make their appear-

[1] With the work of Dom Guéranger may be joined the monograph of Marcel, *Livres liturgiques du Diocèse de Langres* (Paris, 1892), and that by Collette, *Histoire du Bréviaire de Rouen* (Rouen, 1902). For the German books, and especially the two famous breviaries of Cologne (1780), and Münster (1784), see Bäumer, t. II. pp. 338-71. Also for the breviary of Pistoja (1787), see pp. 336-8.

[2] [The right claimed by the King of France in regard to the revenues of vacant sees, etc.—A. B.]

ance, projects in which one cannot help seeing the intention of withdrawing the Gallican Church from the Roman obedience, and asserting her independence, but in which at the same time it would be wrong not to recognize the existence of those scruples which the progress of sound criticism, applied to sacred studies, necessarily evoked in the minds of the clergy. What Baronius and Bellarmine had been at Rome in 1600, erudite men such as Thomassin, Mabillon, and many others were to the clergy of France about 1682. And such, in all history, whether one likes it or not, is the part always played by conspicuous and distinguished men.

At Paris, under the influence of the two ideas alluded to above, the work of revising the Romano-Parisian breviary had been going on since 1670. It was begun by command of the Archbishop Hardouin de Péréfixe (*d.* 1671), and completed under Archbishop Francis de Harlay in 1680.[1] De Harlay and his theologians had for their aim the removal from the breviary of "whatever was superfluous, or unsuitable to the dignity of the Church, and the expulsion of whatever superstitious matter had been introduced, so as to leave in it nothing but what was accordant with the dignity of the Church and the teaching of ancient times . . . ; the taking away of certain homilies falsely attributed to the Fathers, of erroneous or uncertain particulars in the legends of the saints: in a word, of everything not in accordance with piety".[2] De Harlay here repeated almost the exact words of the bull "*Quod a nobis*" of S. Pius V, but he gave them a particular tone of meaning well expressed by Tillemont: "Everything should be banished from the Divine Office which is not based upon some authority either absolutely certain or at all events sufficiently well supported; so that it may be read with reasonable respect and piety, and may not give any occasion for heretics to mock at our devotions".[3]

[1] *Breviarium Parisiense Ill. et Rev. in Christo Patris DD. Francisci de Harlay, Dei et Sanctae Sedis Apostolicae gratia Parisiensis Archiepiscopi, . . . ac Venerabilis ejusdem Ecclesiae Capituli consensu editum*, Paris, 1680. In 1688 an edition of the Roman breviary translated into French was surreptitiously published at Paris: it was condemned by De Harlay in person. See Library of S. Geneviève, MS. 1307, fol. 23: "Sentence rendue en l'officialité de Paris portant condamnation du Bréviaire Romain en langue Françoise" (April 10th, 1688), and on fol. 27—"Ordonnance de Mgr l'Archevesque de Paris" (May 23rd).

[2] Guéranger, t. II. p. 37.

[3] Tillemont, *Histoire ecclésiastique* (1702), t. v. p. 188. He is speaking of the fabulous acts of S. George, and the passage begins thus: "One may then conclude that it is not without good reason that the Roman breviary, and others

The breviary of M. de Harlay appeared in 1680. In it the text of a great number of responds and antiphons was changed, our revisers desiring that none of these should be taken from anything else than Holy Scripture. More than forty legends of saints were removed as being of no authority, and replaced by passages from homilies of the Holy Fathers. Others, again, were re-touched: S. Denis (i.e. Dionysius the Areopagite) was no longer asserted to have been the first Bishop of Paris; S. Mary Magdalene was not called the sister of Martha; it was not said that S. Lazarus was a bishop; the relation of the assumption of our Lady by S. John Damascene was cut out. It may certainly be said that the Parisian liturgists of 1680 had no canonical authority thus to re-cast the text of a breviary published and privileged by the Holy See.[1] They were also without that special instruction which would have led them to study the liturgy in its original sources instead of treating it on *a priori* principles. But they had on their side solid historical erudition, and a judicious sense of the duties and liberties of sound criticism. And if anybody had impugned as too sweeping the maxim quoted above from Tillemont, they might have replied: "A much more considerable service is rendered to the cause of truth and the Church, by omitting from her offices things not altogether certain, than by allowing those which are false to appear among the true: for the result of the latter course is, that the smallest falsehood which a reader detects in a passage makes him doubt the rest, however true, and he is no longer disposed to feel certain of anything, having once been deceived by some lie". These are not the words of Tillemont, still less of Launoy, but of Cardinal Baronius.[2]

What compromised the reform of De Harlay was, that it was believed that a step might be advanced yet further, and the programme of Pius V abandoned in favour of that of Quignonez.[3]

which have been well corrected, are content with keeping the feast of S. George, without venturing to put anything about his life into the Divine Office, from which everything should be banished which is not based," etc.

[1] Yet Bäumer, t. II. p. 331, takes a milder view: "It cannot be denied," he says, "that De Harlay was within his rights".

[2] Baronius, *Annales*, t. III. p. 444.

[3] It is curious to note the existence of the same tendency at Rome on the part of Cardinal Tomasi. There exists, in fact, a little work of his, entitled *De privato ecclesiasticorum officiorum Breviario extra chorum*, written in 1706, and printed first with omissions, by Bianchini, afterwards entire, in 1754, by Vezzosi, *Thomasii opera omnia*, t. VII. pp. 62-68. This book was, if we may believe Bianchini (see note on p. 68 of Vezzosi), a plan for the reform of the office to be

This step was provoked by a series of publications which appeared, one after another, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, concurrently with that ecclesiastical *Fronde* which followed the publication of the bull "*Unigenitus*" (1713).[1] We may mention the *Traité de la Messe et de l'office divin* of J. Grancolas (1713),[2] the *Commentaire historique sur le Bréviaire Romain* (1727) by the same author; and in 1720 the book by F. M. Foinard,[3] entitled:—

Projet d'un nouveau Bréviaire, dans lequel l'office divin, sans en changer la forme ordinaire, serait particulierement composé de l'Ecriture Sainte, instructif, édifiant, dans un ordre naturel, sans renvois, sans répétitions, et très court, avec des observations sur les anciens et les nouveaux Bréviaires.[4]

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recited privately, presented by Tomasi to the Congregation of Rites. The Cardinal, going back to Christian antiquity, thinks he can prove that, before the ninth century, the private office of the clergy was different from that recited in choir, and much more simple. He concludes thus: "Hinc videtur ipsum privatum officium revocandum esse ad pristinam normam, constantem ex psalmis, et lectionibus Sacrae Scripturae, remotis antiphonis et responsoriis, quae, ut eorumdem nomina demonstrant, coetum canentium requirunt". Tomasi demands the return to the office of the season, so that the psalter may be said throughout, every week. He is desirous that Holy Scripture should furnish the chief part of the lessons: in every year there should be read, not only the four Gospels, but the whole of the New Testament; also the whole of the Sapiential books, the narratives of the principal events of sacred history—the creation, the flood, the call of Abraham, etc.—and the passages from the prophets which are the most full of instruction in morals. The collects would be replaced by the Lord's Prayer, as, he says, Durandus assures us was the ancient custom at the Lateran (see Durandus, *Rationale*, IV. 14, 17). Every ordinary day, at the one nocturn, there should be three lessons from Scripture, the third always taken from one of the four Gospels. Tomasi completes his plan by a kalendar (pp. 70-2), in which the festivals are arranged in three groups—*Festa maxima*, *Festa majora*, *Festa minora*. There are sixteen feasts in the first of these groups, and twenty-nine in the second: these are the privileged feasts of obligation in all places. The *Festa minora*, which are all of them saints' days, are only of obligation if the saint is one of those whose names have a place in the canon of the Mass: otherwise they are optional—"extra Urbem Romam pro libito celebrari possunt vel omitti". Was this project of Tomasi's actually laid before the Congregation of Rites? We only know what Bianchini says about it: "Haec est votum Congregationi Rituum a V. Thomasio oblatum". Bianchini tells us his personal judgment on it: "Institutio hujus privati ecclesiasticorum officiorum extra chorum, licet pia videatur, nunc temporis tamen non expediret". But Vezzosi, in 1754, was not of the same opinion: "Ego autem in ea sum sententia, ut statuam, et hoc tempore potissimum, vel maxime expedire breviarium illud pro diurno cursu privato extra chorum, ea ratione dispositum quam Thomasius disponit, si a Summo Pontifice, ad quem adtinet similibus in rebus de Ecclesiae disciplina disponere, adprobaretur" (note on p. 66). See J. Wickham Legg, *The Reformed Breviary of Cardinal Tomasi*, edited with an introduction, translation, notes and appendices (London, 1904)

[1] Yet see Claude Joly, *Tractatus de reformandis horis canonicis* (Paris, 1644 and 1675). Also L. Delisle, *le Bréviaire de Colbert* [1679], in the Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartres, 1882, pp. 146-9.

[2] As to Grancolas (*d.* 1732), see the notice of him in the *Grand Dictionnaire historique* of Moreri (1759), t. v. p. 327.

[3] As to Foinard (*d.* 1733), see Moreri, t. v. p. 204.

[4] Cf. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS. 2040: "Projet d'un nouveau Bréviaire universel, Paris, Pierre Simon, 1728".

Foinard did no more than take up an idea put forward by Grancolas in his *Traité*, and afterwards developed by him in his *Commentaire*. Grancolas and Foinard agreed in proposing: (1) to give the Sunday office such privilege that it would no longer give way to anything but a feast of our Lord; (2) to give such privilege to the season of Lent, that the ferial office in that season should not give way to any feast whatever, not even to the Annunciation, which would itself be superseded by it; (3) to shorten the ferial office—"for, as soon as the ferial office becomes no longer than that of festivals, everyone will prefer it, since it is more varied and more moving to the soul than the office of the saints";[1] (4) to arrange festivals in five classes: a superior class for the festivals of our Lord, into which no feast of the Blessed Virgin or of the saints is to be admitted; a second class (*solennelles mineures*) for *Corpus Christi*, the Assumption, S. John Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, and the patron saint of a church; a class of doubles for apostles, of semi-doubles for doctors, and of simples for martyrs; confessors only claiming a memorial, except that their full office is to be celebrated in their own dioceses, if they were bishops, in the churches of their own Order, if they were religious, and in the localities where they won their saintly renown, in the case of all other saints; (5) to admit into the lessons of the *Sanctorale* none but well-approved histories.[2] Like De Harlay, Grancolas and Foinard wished to have only such legends as were indisputably authentic, in which they were quite right. Nor were they wrong in demanding a return to the office of the season, which had then fallen into an excessive desuetude, even as it has again in the present day. But such a return, in their hands, involved turning the *Sanctorale* upside down: the difficulty was no new one, and their solution of it was devoid of authority.

There was found an Archbishop of Paris, Charles de Vintimille,[3] to carry out the project of Grancolas and Foinard, and

[1] Cf. Grancolas, *Comment.* p. 199: "Officium Festorum Simplicium, quale Romae fit, unicum est quod juxta ritum in breviariis nostris habeamus. Quare nunquam majori gaudio affici soleo, quam quum per anni curriculum Festa hujus modi occurrunt; et millies conceptis votis exoptavi, ut aliquando potissima Festorum duplicium et semiduplicium pars in hanc classem redigeretur. Atque hoc potissimum fere est caput, quod Pontifici Breviarium Romanum emendari cupienti proponendum esset".

[2] Guéranger, t. II. p. 236.

[3] With him we may join the mention of the Archbishop of Rouen (1728), the Bishop of Orléans (1731), and the Archbishop of Lyons (1738). By 1791 the Roman breviary had been abandoned in ninety-one dioceses of France.

even to go a step further. He entrusted the drawing up of the new Paris breviary to Father Vigier, an Oratorian, suspected of Jansenism, and, as his assistants, to two masters of the college of Beauvais, Francis Mésenguy and Charles Coffin, both of them "appellants" against the bull "*Unigenitus*". The breviary of M. de Vintimille was published in 1736, and was destined to remain in use down to our own times.[1]

The new breviary gave to the Sunday office the prerogative of excluding the observance of every kind of feast, excepting "those to which the Church has assigned the highest degree of solemnity". In the second place, a prerogative of the same sort was granted to Lent, "it being thought right to restore the ancient custom of the Church which did not consider that the joyous solemnity of feasts accorded well with fasting and the salutary sadness of penitence": the observance therefore was forbidden in Lent "of all feasts, except those on which abstinence from servile work was enjoined". In the third place, the psalms of the feria were to be recited on all feasts of or below the rank of Lesser Double. Fourthly—and this was the most notable innovation, and as it were a direct return to the method of Quignonez — the psalter was distributed anew, on the plan of assigning proper psalms, not only to each day of the week, but to each of the canonical hours of each day, dividing such as were thought too long,[2] with the result that the entire psalter would almost always be recited in the course of each week.

The office of the season being thus restored to due dignity, the next thing needed was the lightening of the kalendar. In the first place, a whole series of festivals were suppressed altogether: S. Peter's Chair at Antioch; the octave days of S. Stephen, S. John Evangelist, the Holy Innocents, S. John Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, and the Conception of our Lady; the feasts of SS. Vitalis, Domitilla, Alexis, Margaret, Praxedis, Callixtus, Felicitas, etc. Some other festivals were reduced to having a memorial only: SS. George, Martin the Pope, Sylvester, etc.

[1] *Breviarium Parisiense Ill. et Rev. in Christo Patris DD. Caroli-Gaspari-Guillelmi de Vintimille, e Comitibus Massiliae Du Luc, Parisiensis Archiepiscopi . . . auctoritate, ac Venerabilis ejusdem Ecclesiae Capituli consensu editum.* Paris, 1736. The Parisian breviary was abolished by ordinance of Cardinal Guibert, Archbishop of Paris, 1 Nov. 1873.

[2] [For instance, psalm LXXVII. is divided into six parts, and serves for two nocturns of Wednesday; psalms CIII.-CVI. are each reckoned as three psalms, etc. It should be remembered that the example of thus dividing long psalms had been set by S. Benedict.—A. B.].

The hymnal, in deference to the taste of the time, was not suppressed, but re-written. From the breviary of M. de Harlay were taken over the hymns of the two De Santeuls and of some others, including Nicholas Tourneux (d. 1686), greatly suspected of Jansenism. Many new hymns were furnished by Coffin (d. 1749), Rector of the University of Paris, a man no less suspected. But we should be guilty of injustice if we did not freely acknowledge that more than one of these Paris hymns are of singular beauty.[1]

The lectionary, as far as the legends of the saints are concerned, had the merit of being marked with the seal of the "new criticism," as Dom Guéranger somewhat acidly remarks.[2] The text of the antiphonary and the responsoral was entirely furnished by Holy Scripture, in more than one place applied of set purpose in a Jansenist and "appellant" sense, to quote Dom Guéranger once more.[3] To show the "Gallicanism" of the work, a single example may suffice: on the feast of S. Peter's Chair, the invitatory *Tu es pastor ovium, princeps Apostolorum* was replaced by *Caput corporis Ecclesiae Dominum venite adoremus.*[4]

The breviary of M. de Vintimille provoked some vehement protests, which may be found in detail in Guéranger. What is less generally known is that the Holy See intervened in the matter: in July 1736, the Paris breviary was ordered to be submitted to the examination of the congregation of the Holy Office.[5]

[1] The hymns of Claude de Santeul (1628-84), one of the teachers at the Seminary of S. Magloire, and those of his brother Jean Baptiste de Santeul (1630-97), Canon of S. Victor's at Paris, were written for the breviary of De Harlay, and passed thence into that of M. de Vintimille. See Moreri, t. IX. p. 147; also U. Chevalier, *Hymnes et proses inédites de Claude Santeul* (Paris, 1909), p. X. Claude only contributed six hymns to the breviary of De Harlay, the rest of the new ones were his brother's. As to Charles Coffin (1676-1749), leaving Jansenism out of the question, see the notice of him in Moreri, t. III. p. 793. The other authors of the new hymns were Nicolas Tourneux, Isaac Habert, Guillaume de la Brunetière, etc.

[2] Guéranger, t. II. p. 282.

[3] *ibid.* p. 267. [Let me testify to the marvellous knowledge of Scripture and the exquisitely ingenious combination of texts which give to these Gallican responsorals an inexhaustible charm. The subject is one that well deserves competent treatment in a monograph.—A. B.]

[4] The musical notation was entrusted to Abbé Lebeuf: see his *Traité sur le chant ecclésiastique* (Paris, 1741), p. 50: "Je n'ai pas toujours eu l'intention de donner du neuf . . . Tous ceux qui avaient travaillé avant moi à de semblables ouvrages, s'ils n'avaient compilé, avaient du moins essayé de parodier: j'ai eu l'intention de faire tantôt l'un, tantôt l'autre."

[5] This point, and the whole ensuing process of negotiation between Versailles and Rome, has been brought to light by my means, from the correspondence with Rome in the Archives of the Minister for Foreign Affairs. The documents

"At Rome, much annoyance was felt; caused in the first place by the prejudice they entertain here against everything relating to religion that comes from France," writes one of our countrymen who was then residing at Rome, "a prejudice originally caused by our avowed principles,[1] which Rome is never weary of reprobating, and strengthened by the erroneous teaching disseminated of late years, which, to say the truth, has been only too widely spread in the kingdom, and has gained only too sure a foothold there."[2] Nevertheless, in the neighbourhood of the Holy Office the impression was that in the Paris breviary there was nothing sufficient to justify its condemnation. But might not at all events the *suppression* of the breviary be decreed? The Duke of S. Aignan, the king's ambassador, was charged to act with the utmost firmness in order to avert any such step being taken. He represented that there was no chance of the archbishop's anticipating the censure of Rome by a spontaneous suspension of his breviary, since he considered that there was nothing in

were published by me in Battandier's *Analecta juris pontificii*, February, 1896, under the title of "Le Bréviaire parisien de 1736 et le pape Clement XII d'après une correspondance diplomatique inédite".

[1] [Especially, no doubt, as to the liberties of the Gallican Church.—A. B.]

[2] Letter from the Abbé Certain (agent of the French Embassy at Rome) to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, October 5th, 1736. The Abbé goes on to say: "Full credit has been given to the Archbishop of Paris for the rectitude of his intentions, and the sincerity of his wishes, but, to say the truth, they do not excuse him for having put forth his breviary at a time of such disturbance, and in circumstances so critical as those now prevailing at Paris, especially with regard to religion. Still less do they excuse him for having chosen as his collaborators persons not merely under suspicion, but 'appellants' and 're-appellants,' such as M. Coffin, who has written a large proportion of the hymns. The corrections also, which the archbishop has felt obliged to make in his breviary, by inserting new leaves to cancel those which were there before, raises strong grounds for prejudice, at all events against the first edition. Add to this the suppressions and changes made in this new office, with motives that cannot be mistaken, and, above all, the open triumph of the Jansenists on the one hand, eagerly buying up the first issue, and on the other the applauding shouts of zealous constitutionals, and you must agree that, without discussing the breviary in detail, no surprise can be felt at even the most moderate men being affected by prejudice against it. It has accordingly been deemed necessary to submit the work to examination, and it has, in fact, been placed in the hands of four commissioners, who are to make report upon it. As the proceedings of the Holy Office are kept very secret, I cannot tell you whether any report has yet been made, and still less what sort of report it is, or the effect which it has produced. But this much I know from a good quarter, that it has been agreed generally by the cardinals and the consultators of the Holy Office that no positive errors are to be found in the new breviary, and that therefore there seems, so far, no sufficient matter for its condemnation. I say condemnation, not suppression, for in order to the suppression of a work it is not always necessary that errors should be found in it: it may reasonably be suppressed for a variety of other reasons, but at present not even the question of suppressing the Paris breviary has been raised." I have published this document in the treatise above-mentioned.

what he had done which demanded condemnation or withdrawal; especially since he had corrected, by the insertion of fresh leaves in the copies of the breviary, "everything that might possibly give offence". He represented also what a serious thing it would be to see the Court of Rome proceed to take "some open steps which the rights of the Church and Episcopate of France could not tolerate," and "the excitement, so contrary to religion and sound doctrine, which would be aroused by such a step". This diplomatic fencing, on the part of the ministers of Louis XV, ill concealed the embarrassment felt by his Court, where the only thing sought for was how to give way without compromising the credit of the Archbishop. "The utmost that can be consented to, is that the remarks on the breviary made at Rome shall be transmitted to us with the greatest secrecy, and that we consider them in conjunction with Monsieur de Paris."[1]

But these negotiations produced their effect, for, by the end of December, 1736, the Paris breviary was provisionally discharged from trial by the Court of Rome.[2] It is true, Cardinal de Fleury had undertaken that M. de Vintimille should introduce into his breviary the corrections desired by the Holy See.[3] Nor was this undertaking forgotten at Rome: for six years after, in 1743, we find Benedict XIV[4] recalling the fact

[1] Letter from M. de Chauvelin, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Duke of S. Aignan, October 23rd, 1736—published in the treatise above-mentioned.

[2] Letter from M. de Chauvelin to the Duke of S. Aignan, Jan. 8th, 1737: "It is fortunate that you have been able to prevent what it was proposed to do: we should have had a double reason for complaint; first, of what had been done, secondly, of the furtive manner in which the affair was conducted. . . . The King sees with satisfaction the attention which you have bestowed on an affair in which he feels the deeper interest because it concerns the peace of the Church and the good of religion. His Majesty is so convinced of this that he authorizes you afresh, in case the necessity should arise, to speak on the subject in the strongest and most decided terms. He has the greater right to demand that no more shall be said about it, since he is quite willing, as you have already said at Rome, to take measures to dispose M. the Archbishop of Paris to make such changes as might be found necessary." (See the above-named treatise.)

[3] Letter from the Abbé Certain to M. de Chauvelin, March 28th, 1737: "Although for a good while past the congregation has entertained the idea of getting M. the Archbishop to put new substituted leaves in his breviary, as I have had the honour to apprise you more than once, I hope, nevertheless, that we shall succeed at least in arranging that this step shall be reserved for his successor to take. This would, at all events, be a great gain, and one might call it winning the day. Perhaps we may do even better than this, but I dare not promise it." (See treatise.)

[4] Benedict XIV was elected Pope on August 16th, 1740. In the meantime the affair of the Paris breviary remained dormant at Rome, but it was not closed. I read in a letter from the Abbé Certain to M. Amelot, in 1739 (*Corr. de Rome*, t. 772, fol. 477): "Cardinal Firrao (Secretary of State to Clement XII), is always crying out against our breviary, but he is none the less on our side.

that Clement XII had "required of M. the Archbishop that he should issue an order for the calling in of this breviary, in order to correct certain antiphons and responds, and to suppress the hymns of M. Coffin the appellant".[1] But, as a matter of fact, the Archbishop did not eventually consent to do anything of the sort. When the first edition was sold out, and the issue of a new one was being talked of, the Nuncio expressed to Cardinal Fleury a desire that this new edition "should be corrected in accordance with the remarks that had been sent from Rome". Nevertheless, Benedict XIV instructed the Nuncio "not to insist on the issue of the mandate for calling in the breviary, as he did not wish that this demand should prejudice its correction by discouraging the Archbishop". But he charged him to hand to M. Vigier "both the document containing the corrections which Clement XII had demanded, and that in which were indicated all the points requiring correction, even those of least importance," without telling him that these were the utterances of the Holy See, but "simply giving him the documents in question as the work of a zealous person, which might contribute something valuable towards a good new edition of this breviary".[2] It was now the beginning of 1743. But the forbearance of the Sovereign Pontiff availed nothing, and the second edition of the breviary of M. de Vintimille came out unchanged.

The reason why the Holy See did not insist on obtaining from M. de Vintimille the withdrawal of his breviary was, that, taking quite a different view of matters from that of his pre-

By thus crying out he seeks to gain credit with the *Zelanti*, but for all that, at the precise moment when it will be necessary to decide in the Congress of the Holy Office, for or against the breviary, he will be found finally to place himself on the side of its defenders, and express a favourable opinion of it."

[1] Benedict XIV to Tencin, January 18th, 1743 (*Corr. de Rome*, t. 791, fol. 26). I have had the opportunity of inspecting the unpublished correspondence of Benedict XIV with Cardinal Tencin, preserved in the archives of the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Paris, marked *Corr. de Rome*, t. 789 and *sqq.* I have drawn up and published an *Inventaire des lettres inédites du Pape Benôit XIV au Cardinal de Tencin* (Paris, Picard, 1894), and I have also given a sketch of this curious series of letters in the *Revue du Clergé français*, March 15th, 1895. Cf. *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 1903, pp. 517 *et sqq.* E. de Heeckesen, *Correspondance de Benôit XIV* (Paris, 1912), has published these letters of Benedict XIV.

[2] Benedict XIV to Tencin, January 18th, 1743 (Heeckesen, t. I. p. 25). See also the letters dated February 22nd (p. 33), March 1st (p. 35), and April 19th (p. 74). In this last letter the Pope tells us that the affair of the Paris Breviary drags, and that "the King also is desirous of having some part in that affair." On April 26th (p. 49), he writes: "We have received your Eminence's letter of the 8th instant . . . and along with it the paper containing a project for a new Breviary". Again, on May 10th (p. 53): "If any corrections are made in the Paris Breviary, it will be due to his Majesty's zeal". See also letter of May 17th (p. 55).

decessor Clement XII, Benedict XIV was thinking of undertaking in his turn a reform of the Roman breviary. Cardinal Fleury, as early as Feb. 14th, 1741, had welcomed this idea, as one that might solve, without any hostilities, "the question of the breviary of the Archbishop of Paris". Cardinal Tencin, who was then *chargé d'affaires* at Rome, encouraged Fleury and the Pope in this undertaking to the utmost of his power. On July 21st, 1741, he wrote to Fleury: "The Pope has appointed a congregation composed of prelates and religious, to take in hand the reformation of the Roman breviary". And on August 25th: "the Pope has adopted excellent principles in regard to the reformation of the Roman breviary: for instance, as to not admitting any doubtful legend". It is true he adds, immediately after this: "But will this project be carried out? I should not like to say. He has no idea of resisting or of being on his guard against those who surround him".[1]

Thus the reforms attempted in France in 1680 and 1736—and I do not propose to speak of any others than those two—provoked at Rome the design of a new and more thorough revision of the Roman breviary.

II.

The papers containing the proceedings of the congregation appointed by Benedict XIV for the reformation of the Roman breviary long remained unpublished and forgotten. The first to call attention to them was Mgr. de Roskovany; he found them in 1856, in the Corsini Library at Rome, where they had been preserved since the time of Benedict XIV. They constitute a voluminous file of papers bearing the title:—

Acta et scripta autographa in sacra congregatione particulari a Benedicto XIV deputata pro reformatione Breviarii Romani anno 1741, in tres tomos distributa et appendicem.[2]

Mgr. de Roskovany only published the historical summary of the labours of this congregation, edited and prefixed to the whole file of papers by Louis Valenti, the secretary; of the rest of the collection he has given nothing but certain chosen portions:[3] but there have since been published the most important of the documents left on one side by Mgr. de Roskovany.[4]

[1] See Benedict XIV to Fleury, March 4th, 1741 (*Corr. de Rome*, t. 787, fol. 8); Tencin to Fleury, July 21st, 1741 (t. 785, fol. 229); and the same to the same, August 25th, 1741 (t. 785, fol. 331).

[2] Bibl. Corsini, MSS. 361, 362, 363. [3] Roskovany, t. v.

[4] See the Abbé Chaillot, in *Analecta juris pontificii*, t. XXIV. (1885).

We will now analyse this history of the acts of the congregation of Benedict XIV, merely adding a few notes.[1]

Valenti's[2] file of papers is dedicated to Cardinal Nereo Corsini. The author in his dedication says that he felt sure that posterity would be grateful to him for having edited the history of the propositions, discussions, and resolutions handled by the pontifical congregation of the breviary, of which he was the secretary: and that no library seemed to him a more honourable place for the reception of his manuscript than that of Cardinal Corsini. Such is the dedication,[3] which is followed by a short preface.

In the preface, Valenti, quoting Thomassin, reminds the reader that the Divine Office in its essential elements—the hours of prayer, the psalmody, and the reading of the Scriptures,—goes back to the very beginning of the Church. But while this is true of such features as the singing of psalms, the reading of Holy Scripture, and, in some degree, of the use of those prayers which we call Collects, the same cannot be said of a number of other elements which find a place in the Divine Office. Not to speak of the diversity which exists between the offices of the Greeks and Latins, it is very evident that the reading of the acts of the saints and the sermons of the Fathers cannot be traced back to the Church of the earliest times, any more than the custom of preferring to honour God through His saints, whereas in those times the custom was to honour God directly, as is still done in the Sunday and ferial offices. These differences should not cause us any surprise, for it is right that the Church, like the Bride in the Psalms, should be *circumamicta varietatibus* (Ps. XLIV. 14). But it is important that order should reign amidst all this diversity; the liturgy should not be handed over to people to deal with as they think fit, with the result that in the same province or the same diocese there should be uniformity in the office, or that the office should stamp with its authority unauthentic sermons of the Fathers, or fables under the name of acts of saints. Unity and dignity in the Divine Office have been the objects aimed at by the ancient Councils, and most of all by Roman Pontiffs such as Innocent I, Gregory VII, and in later times by Pius V, Clement VIII,

[1] The chapter in Bäumer, t. II. pp. 378-401, is a reproduction, almost word for word, of what I had written. The same may be said of Dom Baudot, *Le Bréviaire Romain* (Paris, 1908), pp. 145-54.

[2] Louis Valenti Gonzaga was a nephew of Cardinal Silvio Valenti Gonzaga, Secretary of State to Benedict XIV. He was himself made a cardinal in 1759.

[3] Roskovany, p. 532; *Analecta*, p. 506.

and Urban VIII. These latter have bestowed infinite care and solicitude on the restoration of the Divine Office to agreement with ancient custom, ordaining that no feature of the ancient office should be abandoned, but that what had been suppressed should be restored, and what had been corrupted, reformed. Pope Benedict XIV, now gloriously reigning, has the same zeal for the worship of God as his predecessors; and, moved by the complaints addressed to him by several persons of consideration, who expressed themselves as grieved to see the Roman breviary in more than one respect depraved from its ancient purity, and fallen from its pristine glory, being also himself more sensible of these blots than anyone else, and more desirous to see them removed, he resolved, from the very beginning of his Pontificate, to set his hand to the reform and correction of the breviary, entrusting to certain persons renowned for their knowledge of ecclesiastical antiquities the task of carrying out his desire. "Often," continues Valenti, "did Benedict XIV condescend to converse with me on this subject, and to ask me what I thought about this important project. Finally he resolved to select several learned prelates and theologians, who being associated together in a congregation, might consult with one another on this matter. The prelates were—Philip Mary Monti, secretary of the Propaganda; Nicolas Antonelli, secretary of the Sacred College; and Dominic Giorgi, one of the Pope's chaplains. The theologians were—Thomas Sergio, a Consultator of the Inquisition; Francis Baldini, of the Order of the Somaschi,[1] a Consultator of the Congregation of Rites; Antony Andrew Galli, Canon Regular of S. John Lateran; and Antony Mary Azzoguidi, of the Conventual Minorites."[2] By the Pope's desire, Valenti acted as secretary.[3]

[1] [Founded by S. Jerome Aemilian about 1533, at Somasco, between Milan and Bergamo, as Clerks Regular. They were afterwards united to the Theatines. —A. B.]

[2] Monti (*d.* 1754), an academic prelate, had just published his *Elogia Cardinalium pietate, doctrina, et rebus pro Ecclesia gestis illustrium* (1741). Antonelli (*d.* 1769), a man of ponderous erudition: we owe to him a conscientious *editio princeps* of a Greek commentary on the Psalms (1746), which he believed to be by S. Athanasius, and which Migne has reproduced. In 1756 he also published a *Vetus Missale Romanum praefationibus et notis illustratum.* Giorgi (*d.* 1747), a *savant* of the school of Muratori, was at this time publishing his great work, *De liturgia Romani Pontificis in solemni celebratione Missarum* (1731-44). Baldini (*d.* 1767), an antiquary, published in 1743 an esteemed edition of Vaillant's *Numismata Imperatorum Romanorum.* Azzoguidi (*d.* 1770) interested himself in the unpublished works of S. Anthony of Padua, whose life he wrote.

[3] Roskovany, pp. 533-7; *Analecta*, pp. 507-8.

The members of the congregation, Valenti assures us, were pretty well unanimous in recognizing the necessity for a reform of the Roman breviary, as a matter of principle: the first point to be settled was therefore the nature of that reform.

Pope Benedict XIV had received two memoranda on the subject of the breviary, one in French, the other in Italian. The French author expressed his regret at finding in the text of the breviary more than one historical assertion which had escaped the vigilance of former correctors, but whose erroneous character had since been exposed by the progress of critical learning; as regards the distribution of the psalter, there were some psalms which were incessantly repeated, and others which were never recited at all, while all the longest psalms were heaped together in the Sunday and ferial offices; among the antiphons there were too many which presented no meaning to the mind of the reader, or which had no coherence with the office in which they occurred; too many of the new festivals of saints were made doubles, while those of ancient and notable saints were only semi-doubles or simples; the frequency of double feasts hindered the use of the Sunday Office, which was devoted to honouring the mysteries of the life of our Lord. Hence it was, in the opinion of this French author, that so many Ordinaries had abandoned the use of the Roman breviary, and adopted breviaries of their own, to the injury and confusion of the liturgy. The time had come for giving to the Roman breviary a new form, which would remedy these defects and guard against these dangers.[1]

On the other hand, the Italian memorandum did not ask for a re-casting, but merely an expurgation of the Roman breviary. It pointed out that this breviary comprised certain essential elements, which could not be modified without destroying the Roman rite itself—such as the number, order, and arrangement of the canonical hours, the nocturns, psalms, antiphons, lessons and collects. These were essential elements which must not be touched. But the kalendar, the wording of the antiphons and responds, the text of the lessons, were all of them elements capable of, and demanding, correction.[2]

[1] The text of this memorandum has been preserved for us by Valenti, and forms the second of the illustrative documents attached to his narrative—*Monumentum* II.

[2] This Italian memorandum is Valenti's third illustrative document—*Monumentum* III.

Both memoranda were handed over by Benedict XIV to the congregation.[1]

Their first meeting took place at the house of Valenti, July 14th, 1741, and from the first it was evident that the consultators were hardly more in agreement with one another than were the two memoranda. The one party wished to begin discussing the distribution of the psalms: they praised the plan of distribution adopted of late in some of the churches of France, and their custom of reciting the ferial psalms in the office of saints' days—a small number of such festivals excepted—so as to secure the recitation of the entire psalter every week. But the rest, whose opinion eventually prevailed, urged that the Roman Church had always been, and had a right to be, tenacious of her own traditions; that it is well to distrust novelties; that the Roman distribution of the psalms was ancient, and not to be lightly abandoned; that the question before them was not the re-casting, but simply the correction of the breviary; and that, reserving the psalter for future discussion, their best plan was to begin with the kalendar. This proposition was unanimously agreed to.[2]

It being granted that their task was one of simple correction, the great point was to ascertain what had been the leading idea in the reform of the breviary under Pius V, and to act in accordance with it. Valenti laid before the congregation a document found by him,[3] which expressed in a lucid manner what the idea of Pius V had been. In the sixteenth century, the ferial office had appended to it the recitation of the little office of our Lady and the office of the dead; and in Lent, in addition, the penitential and gradual psalms, accompanied by litanies; and further, at every canonical hour and at every season, the *preces feriales*. To escape from the overwhelming prolixity of such a ferial office as this, people were led to assign to simple feasts the character of semi-doubles and doubles, that is to say, to give them an office of nine lessons and the right of transference to vacant days as occasion demanded—since an office of nine lessons was not saddled with any additional office beyond that of our Lady. The result was, that the ferial office ceased to be recited in Lent, in contravention of the old canon law; that hardly any lessons from Holy

[1] Roskovany, p. 538; *Analecta*, p. 509.
[2] Roskovany, p. 540; *Analecta*, p. 510.
[3] It is his *Monumentum* v. See the account of it, pp. 199-200, and the document itself in full, pp. 223-229.

Scripture were read, in spite of the ordinances of Pope Gelasius; that there was no longer any such thing as the weekly recitation of the psalter as a whole, but merely the repetition of the same few psalms of the Common of saints, in defiance of the authority of S. Gregory the Great, who ruled that no clerk should be promoted to the Episcopate, unless he knew the whole psalter by heart. For these reasons Pius V suppressed this wrongful privilege of simple feasts, ordering on such days the observance of the ferial nocturn, and reducing them to a memorial in case of their concurrence with a feast of superior rank instead of transferring them, but on the other hand, relieving them of the recitation of the penitential and gradual psalms, of the office of the dead, and (except in Advent and Lent) of the *preces feriales*. He also ordained that in the nocturn of simple feasts two lessons at least of the three should be taken from Holy Scripture.

But the congregation found, on comparing the breviary of Pius V with that of their own time, that the number of doubles and semi-doubles had risen, since 1568, from 138 to 228, so that, there being also 36 moveable feasts of the highest rank, scarcely 90 days were left free for the Sunday and ferial offices; and even these 90 days were for the most part appropriated by festivals allowed to particular churches, dioceses, and religious orders! Thus the situation in 1741 had got back to what it was before 1568, when the Roman Pontiffs undertook the reform of the breviary, and the fault was entirely the kalendar's. It was therefore necessary, whatever special devotion the consultators individually might have for the saints, to decide on erasing a great number of names from the kalendar, and to reduce several more festivals to the rank of simple feasts, since these only among festivals did not hinder the weekly recitation of the psalter.[1]

On August 11th, 1741, the congregation being agreed in principle as to this reduction, essayed the application of it to the feasts of our Lord.

Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, and Pentecost were, of course, outside the area of discussion. There was some doubt as to whether it might be well to restore to the Circumcision its old title of *Octava Domini*, given to it in the Gregorian sacramentary, but the question was passed by.[2] The feast of the Trans-

[1] Roskovany, p. 542; *Analecta*, p. 510.

[2] This title is, in fact, the ancient Roman one, while the custom of keeping the festival of our Lord's circumcision is of prae-Carolingian Gallican origin. See Duchesne, *Origines*, pp. 262-3. Our office in the Roman breviary for this day

figuration was of late date, being unknown to the Gregorian sacramentary,[1] but it had been universally accepted, by Greeks and Latins alike, and it was retained. The same decision was come to in regard to the festival of the Holy Trinity, on the condition that its antiphons and responds should be carefully revised. Corpus Christi was retained without discussion. The festivals of the Invention and Exaltation of the Holy Cross gave rise to lively debates: some wished to remove the Invention from the kalendar altogether; others advocated the union of the two festivals into one, on September 14th; others again were for maintaining both of them as they were. At one moment it really seemed as if the festival on May 3rd would be condemned to disappear; but finally it was resolved to make no change. The feast of the Holy Name of Jesus, however, found no favour with the congregation: it was modern,[2] and its suppression was agreed on. The discussion of the above points was concluded on November 21st, 1741.[3]

On the same day the consideration of the feasts of the Blessed Virgin was begun. The Purification, Annunciation, Assumption, and Nativity of our Lady, being ancient and universally observed festivals, were accepted without discussion. The congregation did, it is true, debate whether it would not be well to substitute for the word "Assumption" the more ancient title of *Pausatio*, *Dormitio*, or *Transitus* ("Repose," "Falling asleep," "Passing"), in order that the Church might not appear, by this solemn liturgical use of the term "Assumption," to elevate into an article of the faith the pious belief of the entrance into Heaven of the Blessed Virgin in body as well as in soul:[4] but the title "Assumption" was unanimously retained. Were octaves to be assigned to the Assumption and Nativity of our Lady? The question was answered in the affirmative, reserving the question of what degree of dignity

has nothing to do with the circumcision: it is purely a Christmas office, all about the birth of our Saviour, with some antiphons and responds in honour of our Lady, the station being on this day at the Pantheon—*Sancta Maria ad Martyres*.

[1] At Rome, as we have seen (p. 169), its observance dates only from 1457.

[2] This festival had been conceded to the Minorites by Clement VIII (1523-34). On Nov. 29th, 1721, Innocent XIII had extended it to the universal Church and appointed the second Sunday after Epiphany for its observance. Benedict XIV, *Opera* (Rome, 1751), t. x. *De festis*, p. 65. [But in England it had been observed ever since 1457 on Aug. 7th, as a greater double.—A. B.]

[3] Roskovany, p. 545; *Analecta*, p. 519.

[4] This debate was perhaps an echo of the controversy raised in France by Claude Joly (1669) and Launoy (1671). The advocates of the term *Pausatio* derived, no doubt, their inspiration from Tillemont, *H.E.* t. I. pp. 476-7 (ed. 1701).

was to be given to these octaves. The feasts of the Visitation and Conception of the Blessed Virgin were also unanimously retained. Those of the consultators who were opposed to the doctrine of the *Immaculate* Conception wished to do away with the octave of the latter festival; while those who were afraid that such a suppression would have been prejudicial to the authority of the doctrine in question, stood out for the octave: and the congregation being pretty equally divided on the point, it was resolved to refer it to Benedict XIV for his decision. The feast of the Presentation of our Lady had been eliminated by Pius V, and restored by Sixtus V: the congregation, feeling the difficulty of determining exactly what mystery of redemption is honoured by the observance of this festival, resolved on adopting the course taken by Pius V.[1] But they subsequently reversed this decision. On the other hand, the festivals of the Holy Name of Mary, the Rosary, our Lady of Mercy, our Lady of Mount Carmel, the Seven Dolours, the *Desponsatio* ("Betrothal"), the Patronage of our Lady, the Translation of the Holy House of Loretto, and the *Expectatio Partus* ("our Lady's Expectation of the Holy Birth"), found but lukewarm defenders in the congregation.[2] It was felt to be a pity that these festivals should interfere with the due recitation of the Sunday office: having already suppressed the feast of the Holy Name of Jesus, that of the Holy Name of Mary could not well be maintained; the Rosary stood or fell with the latter festival, both having the same *raison d'être*, viz. to thank God for victories gained over the Turks; the festivals of our Lady of Mercy and of Mount Carmel were only of interest to two particular religious orders,[3]

[1] Here again, in order to understand the proceedings of the congregation, see Tillemont, *H.E.* t. I. p. 453, and Benedict XIV, *De festis*, pp. 499-510.

[2] The Spanish festival of the Holy Name of Mary (1513) was extended to the whole Church by Innocent XI, Nov. 25th, 1683, in memory of the defeat of the Turks before Vienna on Sept. 12th, 1683 (Bened. XIV, p. 520). The Rosary, established by Gregory XIII, April 1st, 1573, as a commemoration of the victory of Lepanto on Oct. 7th, 1571, was extended to the whole Church by Clement XI, Oct. 3rd, 1716 (Bened. XIV, pp. 526-8). The feast of our Lady of Mercy dates from the time of Innocent XII (1691-1700); our Lady of Mount Carmel, and the Seven Dolours, from Benedict XIII (1724-30) (Bened. XIV, pp. 457, 479, 521). The Betrothal, the Patronage, the Translation of the Holy House, and the Expectation, all date from Benedict XIII (Bened. XIV, pp. 433, 528, 553, 560). Recent research has shown that the Expectation (Dec. 18th) originally took, in Spain, the place of the Annunciation, which had been observed in early times in that country on that date. This substitution took place as early as the seventh century. The festival of the Expectation was introduced into England by S. Anselm (*d.* 1109). Bäumer, t. II. p. 62.

[3] [The Order of our Lady of Mercy, founded in 1218, for the redemption of captives, and the Carmelites.—A. B.]

not to the entire Church. The Seven Dolours had the special disadvantage of ousting the ferial office on the Friday in Passion Week. As for the Betrothal and Patronage of our Lady, and the Translation of the House of Loretto, without impugning the grave motives with which these festivals had been instituted, the congregation felt that, since Christian antiquity had not seen any necessity for establishing them, they were within their rights in deciding not to retain them. The feast of the Expectation of our Lady found no defender.[1]

On March 9th, 1742, discussion took place on the feasts of the Holy Angels.[2] The festival of the dedication of S. Michael on September 29th was unanimously retained. With like unanimity they suppressed the festival of the Apparition of S. Michael on Mount Garganus (May 8th) as one in which only the diocese of Siponto had any concern. The feast of the Guardian Angels was modern, dating only from Paul V ;[3] and did it not seem a superfluous addition to that of S. Michael? It was nevertheless retained.

After the angels, the festivals of the saints were discussed. The feast of the Maccabees was too ancient to be disturbed. But such was not the case with those of SS. Joachim, Anne, and Joseph.[4] Universal devotion had, however, adopted these three festivals with too great piety to allow of their being suppressed ; it was therefore resolved to unite the memory of SS. Joachim and Anne in one festival : but after all they soon decided on abandoning this resolution, and leaving things as they were. The Nativity and Beheading of S. John Baptist were beyond debate ; so was also the festival of the Holy Innocents, but it was thought that its octave might perhaps with advantage be

[1] Roskovany, p. 418 ; *Analecta*, p. 515.

[2] In a Roman breviary printed at Venice by Junta, 1541, I find on fol. d. 1 : "In festo S. Gabrielis . . . quod officium est approbatum a S. D. N. Leone X, 1515, VIII Idus Nov. in castello Viterbii in camera suae residentiae".

[3] Sept. 27th, 1608. He instituted it as optional, "to be celebrated *ad libitum* on the first day after Michaelmas not hindered by an office of nine lessons". Urban VIII left it optional in 1632. It was extended to the whole Church by Clement X, Sept. 13th, 1670.

[4] The festival of S. Joachim, established by Gregory XV, March 20th, 1623, was raised to the rank of a greater double by Clement XII, October 3rd, 1738. That of S. Anne was introduced as a simple feast in the time of Sixtus IV (1471-1484), see Schober, p. 32. The festival was suppressed by Pius V, restored with the rank of double by Gregory XIII (1572-1585), and raised to the rank of greater double by Clement XII. [In England it was observed from 1383 as a simple of the first class.—A. B.] S. Joseph, first introduced as a simple feast in the time of Sixtus IV, see Schober, p. 201, became a double under Innocent VIII (1484-1492), and a double of the second class under Clement X, November 29th, 1670. It received from Clement XI, February 3rd, 1714, its proper office, which is a masterpiece.

suppressed. There was no debate as to the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, and the other Apostles (including S. Barnabas) and the Evangelists: the only difficulty raised was about the exceptional octave assigned to the feast of S. John Evangelist. The festivals of S. Mary Magdalene and S. Martha were to be retained, but the latter was to be reduced to the rank of a simple feast.[1]

On March 17th, 1742, the discussion of the same subject was resumed. No difficulty was made over maintaining the feasts of the Conversion of S. Paul, S. John before the Latin Gate, and S. Peter's Chains. The question was raised of uniting in one festival the two feasts of S. Peter's Chair;[2] but they finally agreed to keep them distinct. On the other hand, there seemed no further reason to retain the Commemoration of S. Paul on June 30th, since the Pope no longer went as of old to pontificate on that day at S. Paul's without the Walls: accordingly this festival was only to be retained for churches dedicated in honour of S. Paul; in all others the office on that day would be of the octave of SS. Peter and Paul. They retained each of the three anniversaries in honour of the dedication of Roman basilicas—the Lateran (November 9th), SS. Peter and Paul (November 18th), and S. Mary's the Greater (August 5th); but the last was no longer to be called "S. Mary of the Snows" but, as in the ancient kalendars, simply *Dedicatio S. Mariae.* They now got on to the consideration of the main body of saints' days, and difficulties began to multiply.[3]

The congregation met on April 20th and May 1st, to discuss what saints were to be retained in the kalendar, but it was found impossible to pass any resolution, except one to the effect that Azzoguidi should draw up a kalendar containing the festivals which, at previous sittings, it had been decided to

[1] Roskovany, p. 511; *Analecta*, p. 518.

[2] Duchesne, *Origines*, pp. 266-268, is convinced that the feast on February 22nd, ("S. Peter's Chair at Antioch") is the old Roman feast of the inauguration of the Episcopate of S. Peter at *Rome*, or *Natale Petri de cathedra*, and dates from 336. There is no trace of such a festival in the East. The feast on January 18th ("S. Peter's Chair at Rome") is the same *Natale*, antedated so as to keep it clear of Lent, and this antedating is of Gallican origin. "At Rome, the feast on February 22nd was maintained to the exclusion of the other, and that down to the sixteenth century," writes Mgr. Duchesne, following De Rossi, *Bulletino*, 1867, p. 38. The feast on January 18th was introduced at Rome by Paul IV, January 14th, 1558; previously to which no Church has kept *both* festivals, nor were the local attributions, to Rome and Antioch, severally in use. The congregation of Benedict XIV would have been well advised in restoring the one festival on February 22nd.

[3] Roskovany, p. 553; *Analecta*, p. 519.

maintain. The work did not get on: Giorgi had gone to Castel Gandolfo to rest awhile; Galli to Bologna, to attend the general Chapter of his Order; it was impossible to get a meeting together. Benedict XIV nevertheless urged matters on, and Valenti redoubled his efforts. In conjunction with Azzoguidi, he agreed to draw up a sketch of a kalendar to be submitted to the congregation, showing the festivals already accepted, and those which had the best chance of being so eventually. As soon as this sketch was drawn up, Valenti was going to show it to Giorgi, for, as he said, if Giorgi approved of it, there was good hope that all the other consultators would follow suit. But in the meanwhile Monti, who was president of the congregation, and at whose house they were now holding their meetings, had had "general rules" drawn up by "a learned man," in accordance with which it would be proper to judge which saints were to have offices assigned to them, and what rank the office of each ought to have. What were these rules? Valenti does not tell us. The only thing we know is that Valenti, Azzoguidi, Baldini and Galli were unanimous in rejecting them.[1] But how was Monti likely to take this opposition?[2]

At last the congregation met, on July 15th, 1742. Valenti had succeeded in arranging that Monti should say no more about his "general rules," and that Azzoguidi should put aside his kalendar, while he himself proposed to retain only those

[1] Roskovany, pp. 555; *Analecta*, p. 520.

[2] In *Briefe Benedicts XIV an den Canon. Fr. Peggi in Bologna*, published by F. X. Kraus (Freiburg, 1884), I find an interesting passage relating to Monti (p. 27). The Pope writes:

"Gli eruditi in materie ecclesiastiche sono di tre specie. Alcuni hanno una buona guardarobba, lettura continua, ed ottima memoria delle cose lette: e questi non solo sono buon per la conversazione, ma nelle occorrenze possono somministrare buone notizie. Ma se no passano più oltre, riescono in atto pratico il più delle volte non solo inutili ma perniciosi. E del numero di questi (sia detto in confidenza) si debbon riporrei i due Cardinali Passionei, e Monti."

"Men learned in matters ecclesiastical are of three kinds: some have a good stock of knowledge, are always reading, and have an excellent memory for what they have read; and these are not only good for conversation, but on occasion may furnish some useful information. But if they stop there, they generally prove in practical matters not only useless but even mischievous. Among these (be it said in confidence) must be reckoned Cardinals Passionei and Monte."

What follows, in praise of Muratori, would be worth quoting as an example of the charming and sagacious kindliness of Benedict XIV; but I have contented myself with giving what relates to Monti, as throwing light on the embarrassment caused to Valenti, a plain practical man, by the pernicious erudition of his president. Monti is "a man who has read a great deal, but without any method," wrote, in 1743, the Abbé de Canillac, our auditor at the *Rota* (*Corr. de Rome*, t. 792, fol. 242).

festivals of which the Jesuit Guyet said that they were celebrated throughout the whole Church.[1] Father Guyet's work was accordingly read, and the congregation found no fault with it, but considered that it would be better worth while to devote their next few sittings to discussing themselves the case of each several saint. But first they agreed on retaining (1) all the saints whose names occur in the canon of the Mass; (2) all those whose feasts are mentioned in the ancient sacramentaries and kalendars of the Roman Church; (3) all the saints of whom we possess the *Acta sincera*, or an eulogium pronounced on them by one of the Fathers, provided their *cultus* in the Church is ancient; (4) those sainted Popes only of whom the *cultus* is ancient; (5) the Doctors of the Church; (6) the saints who are founders of religious orders; (7) some saints representing each of the nations of Christendom; (8) no saints not included in one of the above classes, unless the devotion of the universal Church, or some other most urgent (*urgentissima*) reason, should induce them to decide otherwise.[2]

It would be a long and tedious business to enumerate one by one the applications made by the congregation to particular cases of the method thus resolved upon. It will suffice to record, with Valenti, the zeal with which Azzoguidi and the other consultators applied themselves to the collation of ancient sacramentaries and kalendars, so as to form an opinion regulated by these authorities, to the submission of such opinion to general discussion, and to the obtaining of an unanimous agreement for each resolution of the congregation. August and September were spent on this work: in October nothing but the summing up of results remained to be done, and this task was entrusted, not to Azzoguidi, whose health at this time was suffering from overstrain, but to Galli, who gave up to it his autumn vacation.[3]

Valenti has preserved for us the expurgated kalendar of this congregation of the breviary. The number of expulsions decreed by it was very extensive. In addition to the feasts, already mentioned, of the Holy Name of Jesus, the Holy Name of Mary, the Betrothal, the Expectation, the Seven Dolours, the Patronage of the Blessed Virgin, our Lady of Mercy, the Rosary, the Translation of the House of Loretto, the Commemoration

[1] C. Guyet, *Heortologia, sive de festis propriis locorum et Ecclesiarum* (Venice, 1729).

[2] Extract from the Preface to the *Calendarium reformatum*. See Roskovany, p. 586.

[3] Roskovany, p. 558; *Analecta*, p. 523.

of S. Paul, and the Apparition of S. Michael, the congregation had erased from the kalendar the names of the Popes Telesphorus, Hyginus, Anicetus, Soter, Marcellinus, Eleutherius, Silverius, John, Leo II, Pius, Anacletus, Zephyrinus, Evaristus, Pontianus, and Gregory VII;[1] of SS. Canute, Raymond of Pennafort, Casimir, Vincent Ferrier, Ubaldus, Antoninus, Bernardin, Felix de Cantalice, John de Sahagun, Louis Gonzaga, Liborius, Raymond Nonnatus, Laurence Giustiniani, Wenceslas, Francis Borgia, Andrew d' Avellino, John of the Cross: also of SS. Sabas, Peter Chrysologus, Peter of Alexandria, Eusebius of Vercellae, Hilarion, Venantius, Boniface, Erasmus, Alexis, Christopher, Pantaleo, Romanus, Cassian, Hyacinth, Januarius, Eustace, Placidus, Denis, Rusticus and Eleutherius, Vitalis and Agricola, Trypho, Respicius and Nympha, Diego, Hippolytus and Symphorianus, Giles, the Seven Holy Brothers, Modestus and Crescentia, Nabor and Felix, Faustinus and Jovita, Cyprian and Justina: of the female saints Emerentiana, Martina, Dorothea, Scholastica, Petronilla, Rufina and Secunda, Symphorosa, Margaret, Christina, Hedwiga, Ursula, Katherine, Bibiana, Barbara, Margaret of Cortona, Mary Magdalene de' Pazzi, Juliana de' Falconeri, Rose of Viterbo, Gertrude, and Elizabeth of Hungary. To these must be added the invention of the body of S. Stephen, and the impression of the stigmata of S. Francis.[2]

On December 7th, 1742, the congregation had at last drawn up its kalendar of feasts to be maintained. But it was as yet nothing more than a catalogue, and several questions required settling before it could take the form of a real liturgical kalendar. In the first place, in accordance with the leading

[1] The suppression of the feast of S. Gregory VII was very significant. The office for it had been conceded to the Benedictine Order and to patriarchal basilicas of Rome by Clement XI, in 1719, and extended to the universal Church by Benedict XIII, in 1728. The historical lesson contained a sentence in which was recorded the resistance made by the Pope to the Emperor Henry IV, the same which we still read there: "Contra Henrici Imperatoris impios conatus," etc. The parliaments of France saw in these words an impeachment of the liberties of the Gallican Church and the King's Majesty. Cardinal Fleury annulled their decrees, but they had the support of certain bishops—Caylus, of Auxerre; Colbert of Montpellier; Coislin of Metz. Benedict XIII (July 31st, 1729) had to condemn the episcopal charges of these bishops and the edicts of the Parliaments. The Parliament of Paris (February 23rd, 1730) condemned the condemnation pronounced by the Pope! There was a similar disturbance in the kingdom of Naples, and another in Austria. See Bäumer, t. II. pp. 303-14, 322-3. The congregation of Benedict XIV thought to evade all these difficulties by suppressing the festival of Gregory VII.

[2] *Calend. reform.* Roskovany, pp. 612-4: "Catalogus festorum seu officiorum quae visa sunt omittenda".

idea of their whole work of reformation, the consultators aimed at giving privilege to the ferias of Lent, and, as far as possible, of Advent as well: such was the rule of the ancient liturgy, as witnessed to by the tenth Council of Toledo, which forbade the celebration of the festivals of the saints during the *dies quadragesimales*, and the Council of Laodicaea, which equally forbade the keeping of *natalitia* in Lent.[1] Accordingly all feasts falling in Lent were to be omitted altogether, or transferred, except the Annunciation, S. Peter's Chair, and S. Joseph —leaving out of consideration simple feasts, which did not interfere with the ferial office. Secondly, it being agreed that the sixfold distinction of rank among festivals, sanctioned by Clement VIII and Urban VIII, should be preserved, and that no change should be made in the rules about concurrence printed at the end of the rubrics prefixed to the Roman breviary, it remained to settle the rank of each of the festivals retained in the reformed kalendar. To this were devoted the meetings held in the early months of 1743.[2]

The rank of double of the first class was assigned to ten festivals—Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, *Corpus Christi*, S. John Baptist (June 24th), SS. Peter and Paul (June 29th), Assumption (August 15th) and All Saints (November 1st).[3] The rank of double of the second class was given to twenty-seven festivals — Trinity Sunday, the Circumcision of our Lord, the Purification, Annunciation, Nativity, and Conception of our Lady, S. Stephen, Holy Innocents, S. Joseph, the Invention and Exaltation of Holy Cross, S. Laurence, S. Michael, and the *natale* of each of the Apostles and Evangelists. The rank of greater double to twelve festivals—the Transfiguration, the Dedication of the Lateran, Liberian and Vatican basilicas, the Visitation and Presentation of our Lady, both feasts of S. Peter's Chair, S. Peter's Chains, Conversion of S. Paul, S. John before the Latin Gate, and S. Barnabas. There were to be twenty-three lesser doubles and thirty-four semi-doubles, sixty-three simple feasts, and finally twenty-nine saints of whom a commemoration only was to be made.[4]

Thus was completed the new kalendar agreed on by the

[1] [Even in 1619 the Milan kalendar marked no festivals whatever between February 11th and April 11th, except the Annunciation.—A. B.]

[2] Roskovany, p. 563; *Analecta*, p. 525.

[3] In addition to these, for each particular church, were the feasts of its dedication, and of its patron saint.

[4] Roskovany, pp. 592-612.

congregation[1]: should they go on at once to study the text of the office, and revise the homilies, legends, hymns, responds, etc., of the offices which were retained? It appeared wiser to submit to Benedict XIV the work already done; for this constituted the base on which all the rest of their reform must be built, and their labour would be lost if the Sovereign Pontiff did not approve, or possibly disapproved, of their method, and their first resolutions. Accordingly, by the unanimous advice of the consultators, Valenti laid the new kalendar before Benedict XIV.[2]

The Pope, Valenti assures us, received it with great kindness, and said he would examine it. In fact, he kept it with him for several months, which is not surprising when we consider how fully he was occupied with the many other cares laid upon him by his Apostolic charge, and his natural desire to weigh most thoughtfully a matter so likely to cause difficulty as the reduction of the *Sanctorale*. In a letter addressed to Cardinal Tencin, June 7th, 1743, that is to say at the precise moment when Valenti had just laid before him the new kalendar, we see in what terms Benedict XIV states the method on which, in his opinion, the Roman breviary ought to be reformed. The importance of this letter will be evident to all our readers:—

"We have received your Eminence's letter of May 20th, in which you mention the project of a new Roman breviary. . . . We have remarked with the utmost pleasure the hopes which your Eminence suggests to us, that if we were to put forth such a new breviary, it might be received in France, at all events in the dioceses where the Roman breviary is at present in use. The following is the general plan which we have proposed to follow in the composition of this breviary. Criticism having become so exacting, and the facts which our good forefathers regarded as indubitable being now called in question, we see no other way of defending ourselves against such criticism than by compiling a breviary in which everything should be drawn from Holy Scripture, which, as your Eminence is aware, contains plenty of matter on the subject of the mysteries celebrated in the feasts of the Church, as well as about the Holy Apostles and the Blessed Virgin. Whatever the Scriptures themselves might not furnish would be supplied

[1] The revision of the kalendar was finished "mense Aprilis, 1743," says Valenti, without mentioning the day of the month.

[2] Roskovany, p. 562; *Analecta*, p. 525. The kalendar, and an exposition of the principles on which it was framed, are given by Roskovany, pp. 583-614.

from the universally accepted writings of the most ancient Fathers. As for the other saints which have now a place in the breviary, a simple commemoration of them would be deemed sufficient. All that can be said against this is, that such an innovation would derogate from the *cultus* hitherto rendered to these saints; and true it is that the cutting out of their legends will make some people cry out, who look upon the things related in them as so certain, that they would be ready to go to the stake in support of their truth. But such criticism as this appears to us as of far less weight than that in which it is made a reproach to us that we cause to be read in the name of the Church things which are apocryphal or of doubtful veracity. Besides, with whatever care and ability the new breviary is drawn up, some such criticism would be inevitable."[1]

We see here a marked divergence between the views of Benedict XIV and his consultators. The Pope aims at the production of a new breviary, while they are merely at work on the reformation of that already existing. Benedict XIV has in view a breviary in which everything is to be drawn from Holy Scripture: to lay down such a rule is equivalent to sweeping away the whole structure of the existing breviary, and to accept precisely the principle adopted by the Gallican liturgists. The Pope speaks of a hope that such a breviary will be received in France, "in the dioceses where the Roman breviary is now in use". Does he mean that the new breviaries, such as that of M. de Vintimille, are to be left in possession and not interfered with? Benedict XIV would retain in the *Sanctorale* the mysteries of our Lord, and the festivals of the Apostles and of the Blessed Virgin: but all the other saints' days would no longer have right to anything beyond a mere commemoration, and thereby there would be an entire suppression of the legends of the saints. Of the order of the psalmody he says nothing, doubtless considering that the restoration of the office of the season would satisfy any wishes formed with regard to that subject. Such are the main lines of the scheme conceived on his own part by Benedict XIV, into the knowledge of which we are admitted by this letter of June 7th, 1743.

After reading this letter of Benedict XIV, it is easier to understand what Valenti means, when, continuing his narrative, he tells us that a certain person, whom he does not name (not

[1] *Corr. de Rom.*, t. 792, fol. 21. Heeckesen, t. I. p. 61.

improbably it was the Pope himself), expressed the opinion that it would be better to retain all the festivals of the *Sanctorale* of the Roman breviary, but to reduce them all to the rank of simple feasts, so as not to interfere with the ferial office. Valenti—as he tells us himself with all the artlessness befitting a diplomat—took care to lay this opinion before Benedict XIV, who wished to know why the consultators had not adopted it. They replied in writing that it had seemed to them necessary to eliminate certain festivals of saints, and that, with regard to this project, it was one which clashed with the immemorial custom of the Church, and would involve a thousand difficulties.[1] This reply, so bluntly stated, and at the same time so completely well-founded, indicated a fundamental divergence between the views of Benedict XIV and his consultators.

In the meantime the Pope was being pressed to make his decision. Now it was Cardinal Tencin; now it was Crescenzi, the Pope's Nuntio at Paris, who had been summoned to Rome to receive the cardinal's hat;[2] now it was Valenti himself, who assiduously recalled to the mind of his Holiness the interests of the work that had been begun, and which Benedict XIV alone could bring to a successful issue. At last the Pope yielded—whatever might be the thoughts he privately entertained—and appointed a congregation of cardinals to examine the kalendar presented to him by the consultators. It consisted of their Eminences Cardinals Gentili, Silvio, Valenti, Monti, Tamburini, and Vezzosi. Louis Valenti was to act as secretary to this congregation also.[3]

[1] Roskovany, p. 562; *Analecta*, p. 525. The report of their consultation is given by Roskovany, pp. 614-19.

[2] Crescenzi was nothing more than an echo of Cardinals Fleury and Tencin. He was made a cardinal at the Consistory of September 9th, 1743. See Benedict XIV to Tencin, January 3rd, 1744 (Heeckesen, t. I. p. 112), on the subject of "the new Roman Breviary, of which, as we told your Eminence, we have formed the design". He writes thus: "We have not abandoned our idea, and do not mean to abandon it. But it is a vast enterprise! There are only twenty-four hours in the day, and, though we are only seven hours in bed, we assure your Eminence that, except half-an-hour for dinner, and about an hour's conversation in the evening, all the rest of the day is taken up with reading, or writing, or giving audience. A breviary is a work to do by one's-self, and not by means of others, especially as there is here no plenty of good workmen at such a task. Were God to grant us peace and quiet, we should be able to carry out this design."

[3] Roskovany, p. 553; *Analecta*, p. 526. Bäumer, t. II. p. 373, mentions *Codex* XIV. in the Library of S. Paul's without the Walls, which contains the papers of Cardinal Tamburini (he was a Benedictine) on the business of the breviary. Benedict XIV said of Tamburini: "This distinguished man has always lived here with his brother Benedictines in the monastery of St. Calixtus, where he

The congregation met at the Quirinal, March 2nd, 1744. The cardinals raised no objection to the plan of the kalendar, but rather signified their approbation. Their decision, however, was delayed by the discussion of preliminary considerations. Monti, who had been made a cardinal in September, 1743, was, as we have seen, president of the congregation which had drawn up the kalendar, and this gave him great weight with his colleagues on the congregation of cardinals. He proposed that they should consult Cardinal Tencin at Paris, and await his advice. It was well known that he was strongly in favour of a reform. He was an active and influential prelate, and there was reason to hope that, if they could secure his support, the reformed Roman breviary would be received in France, and in that case would also be received with all willingness by the other nations obedient to the Holy See. But other cardinals remarked that the reform now undertaken was not yet sufficiently advanced for communication to outsiders, and Cardinal Tamburini, in assenting to this observation, added that it would be well to settle without delay what distribution of the psalter they meant to adopt: was not that in fact the most vital point connected with the reform? Was the entire psalter to be recited every week? How many psalms were to be recited each day? Were the ordinary daily psalms to serve for saints' days as well? Or were there to be some saints' days with a psalmody of their own? These were the sort of questions which the consultators ought to study forthwith. The advice of Tamburini prevailed. Since in the meantime the congregation of consultators had lost two of its members—Monti having been made a cardinal and Azzoguidi having long been absent from Rome—Benedict XIV (March 8th, 1744) nominated two new consultators—Orlandi, the Procurator General of the Celestines, and Father Giuli, a Jesuit, at that time Professor of Canon Law at the German College.[1]

occupies a small apartment, and is adored by his monks. . . . He is an excellent theologian, indefatigable in work, and writing well both in Latin and Italian." See letter to Tencin, March 13th, 1754 (Heeckesen, t. II. p. 327). He described Vezzosi (or Bezzosi) as "a man of much merit, who knows a great deal, has high principles, and a very wise head". Letter of May 28th, 1755 (*id.* p. 416).

[1] Roskovany, p. 564; *Analecta*, p. 527. Father Giuli died in November, 1748. Benedict XIV had a great esteem for him: he was, he said, "un uomo che sà, e pieno di merito". Here is a passage from a letter of Benedict XIV to Cardinal Tencin, March 5th, 1744: "A consultation has been held in the presence of certain cardinals, on the subject of the projected new Roman breviary, after the consultators had held more than twenty by themselves. Your Eminence can well imagine that there was a great deal of discussion and not much reached in the way of conclusions. But, as soon as we can, we mean to begin having these consultations

The consultators met on March 19th, to discuss the question of the distribution of the psalter. Many of the churches of France had, within the last few years, adopted a new method of distribution, not in all cases the same, and this innovation had its partisans in Italy. As soon as the report was spread that the congregation was discussing this question, various projects for a distribution of this kind were sent in to Valenti, all of them claiming to make the recitation of the psalter easier and better ordered. The consultators, however, were unanimous in adhering to their former decision of July 14th, 1741, and affirmed once more that the Roman distribution of the psalter was the ancient one, and must not be abandoned. To give more weight to their opinion—based on the testimony of Amalarius and Gregory VII—they had recourse to the manuscript treasures of the Roman libraries. Antonelli searched the archives of the Lateran; Giorgi, the library of the Vatican; Orlandi, that of the Vallicellan; Giuli, those of the *Collegio Romano* and the Sacred Penitentiary; and so forth. By April 29th, these researches were completed, and amply confirmed the opinion of the congregation; and Galli, summing up the results in a treatise, supported the conclusion that none of the schemes of distribution already introduced in France or proposed elsewhere were worthy of being preferred to the ancient Roman distribution of the psalter.[1] When read to the consultators, Galli's treatise was universally approved. At the same sitting they decided that lesser doubles, falling on a Sunday, should be transferred: on the question whether semi-doubles, under similar circumstances, should be transferred or reduced to a memorial only, the votes were equally divided.[2]

There was need of dispatch. The report spread, no one knows how—so Valenti assures us—that Benedict XIV really cared very little about the correction of the breviary, that indeed he rather disliked it, and allowed the consultators to occupy themselves with it, not so much because he wished it carried to completion as in order not to oppose those persons who demanded it. Nothing could have less foundation than

held in our presence; and further, we shall confer on the subject with M. the Archbishop of Bourges (the French Ambassador) when he arrives, the more so as he may be able to bring with him some able Doctor of the Sorbonne" (*Corr. de Rome*, t. 796, fol. 21). Heeckesen, t. 1. p. 125.

[1] This dissertation, *De non immutando veteri psalmodiae ritu*, is given by Valenti among his illustrative documents, as *Monumentum* XXII. Published in *Analecta juris pontificii*, Series XXVII. (1887-8), pp. 292-301.

[2] Roskovany, p. 565; *Analecta*, p. 528.

this report, or be more contrary to the Pope's real mind;[1] and he charged Valenti to tell the consultators that far from feeling unfavourably towards their work, he was interested in it and supported it, and that the day would soon come when the congregation should meet in his presence. Soon after, in fact, he appointed an additional consultator, Nicolas Lercari, who had just come back from France, where he had fulfilled an important mission, and had been made secretary of the Propaganda; and after reading their last report, he invited the joint congregation of cardinals and consultators to hold a meeting in his presence, on September 29th, 1744.

Benedict XIV, with that erudition and grace which characterized his eloquence, spoke to them of the necessity for a reform, and the method that ought to be adopted in it. That necessity, he saw, proceeded from the same causes which had of old swayed the minds of the Fathers of the Council of Trent: viz. the confusion that had come about in the recitation of the psalter, the presence of false or doubtful stories in the legends of the saints, and the want of purity and elegance in the language employed in Divine worship. As to the method to be followed, he, with the cardinals, approved the resolution of the consultators not to interfere with the traditional distribution of the psalms; for his own part, he desired that the text of the Vulgate in the psalter should be left untouched; he approved of the retention of the various ranks of feasts—doubles of the first class, doubles of the second class, etc. He made no objection to the eight rules formulated by the consultators as to the reform of the kalendar, but he would add a ninth. For, in fact, some of the saints in the kalendar had been canonized before the time of Alexander III (1159-81), by the *consensus* of the universal Church; other, since Alexander III, by the decree of the Roman Pontiff, and with the solemn ceremony which we commonly call canonization; others again, since the time of the said Pope, without that solemn ceremony, by the mere prescription, issued by the Roman Pontiff to the Catholic world, of a Mass and an office in their honour. It was not well to confound these three classes of saints, but what was proper for each of them should be carefully determined. In conclusion, he encouraged the consultators to bestow henceforth all their energies on the examination, correction, improvement, or even the replacing by fresh matter, of the several parts of the breviary; to share the

[1] Roskovany, p. 566; *Analecta*, p. 529.

labour between them, but to discuss each point in common, and finally to lay before him all their resolutions. Valenti set down in writing the discourse of the Sovereign Pontiff, and on October 2nd the report of it, after being laid before the Pope and approved by him, was distributed to the cardinals and consultators.[1]

This discourse is calculated to cause us some surprise, after the Pope's letter to Cardinal Tencin, of June 7th, 1743, in which he certainly manifested no intention of touching the traditional distribution of the psalter, but did express his desire to reduce all festivals, except those of our Lord, the Apostles, and the Blessed Virgin, to a simple commemoration superposed on the office of the season, and to bring it to pass that, with the exception of some passages from the Fathers, the breviary should contain nothing but what was taken from Holy Scripture—not any such thing as a legend! Had Benedict XIV changed his mind? Or was he now keeping back his real sentiments? It is more probable that the Pope had abandoned his former notion.

After the autumn vacation the consultators again took up the work. Meetings were held on November 27th and December 30th, to discuss the office of the season. Lercari, Antonelli and Giorgi made a study of the homilies, lessons and *capitula;* Sergio, Baldini, Giuli, and Valenti, of the antiphons, responds, hymns and versicles. The examination of the lectionary resulted in only a small number of remarks; that of the antiphons, responds, etc., suggested merely a few doubts; and even as to these, the resolutions taken were not maintained. The office of the season was, in short, outside the sphere of discussion. One consultator proposed to substitute for the short lesson at prime the reading of some canon of a Council—an idea borrowed from the breviary of M. de Vintimille. But, within twenty-four hours, Benedict XIV, having received information of this from Valenti, reminded the consultators that, in his view, the question before them was the reform and not the recasting of the breviary.[2] It is therefore certain that the Pope had no longer any thought of putting forth a new Roman breviary.

On January 16th, 1745, they undertook the Proper of saints: on July 2nd they were still working at it. Valenti explains the plan on which the consultators shared the work between them, with what conscientious care they applied themselves to it, and

[1] Roskovany, pp. 567-8; *Analecta*, p. 529.
[2] Roskovany, p. 569; *Analecta*, p. 530.

what anxiety they all felt to arrive at a common understanding. He impresses upon us the respect which they all entertained for antiquity, and gives an instance of it.

One of the consultators, having called the attention of the congregation to the fact that the office for the Conversion of S. Paul had antiphons and responds, good enough in themselves, and taken from Holy Scripture, but without any direct reference to the subject of the festival, undertook to compile some which should be equally Scriptural, and bearing upon the conversion of the Apostle. The work was well done, but the congregation did not accept it. So Valenti well expresses it: "*retenta est antiquitas et reprobata novitas, hoc est, nihil placuit immutari*".[1] But, in spite of all this circumspection and respect for antiquity, corrections multiplied. Then, all at once, the work comes to a standstill.

Who would have believed, says Valenti, that consultators who were men of experience, and had had proved to them over and over again the fixed intention of the Sovereign Pontiff, would allow themselves to be influenced by the report which was now for the second time spread by a certain cabal, that Benedict XIV did not really wish for a reform of the breviary! Alas, the falsest rumours have often an appearance of truth which suffices to deceive the keenest eyes and the most sagacious minds! This report was spread, not only away from Rome, but in Rome itself, and gained credence. The silence of the Pope was made the most of. The consultators got discouraged, and from July 9th, 1745, to June 22nd, 1746, they could not be got together, until at length Benedict XIV expressed to Valenti his astonishment at seeing their work so much delayed, and asked what it was that had stopped them. Valenti, who, as it seems, had shared in this feeling of discouragement, ingenuously avowed to the Pope what was the matter. The Pope assured him that they had allowed themselves to be deceived by false rumours, exhorted him with all kindness to have the interrupted work resumed, and gave him an autograph letter, dated June 20th, 1746, to read to his colleagues with a view to encouraging them to go on and finish their task.[2] He

[1] Roskovany, p. 571; *Analecta*, p. 532.

[2] This note appears among Valenti's illustrative documents, *Monumentum* XXXII. The following is the text of it, hitherto unpublished: "Dalla Sigria di Stato, 20 Giugno, 1746. Avendo Nro Sigre una giusta premura, che si solleciti lo studio e l'affare spettante alla riforma del Breviario Romano, si contentera Mons. Promotre della Fede di rappresentarla alla Congrene deputata acciò abbia maggior stimoli di terminare questa opera. Monsigr Valenti, Promotore della Fede."

was even willing to see them individually, in order to confirm them in this determination, assuring them of the desire he felt to see the reform completed, and how greatly that desire was increased by the letters which he received from France, especially from Cardinal Tencin, and by the hope which these gave him of seeing the reform undertaken at Rome, fully accepted in that country.[1]

Accordingly, the meetings of the congregation were resumed on June 22nd, 1746, and up to August 12th they met every week at Valenti's house. By that time they had finished the revision of the Proper of saints for the first six months of the year. On September 10th, Valenti was able to present to the Pope the result of these labours of the congregation: it was both a description and a justification of the corrections which they proposed, entitled *Specimen Breviarii reformati: Pars hymnalis et pars verna.*[2] The Pope was filled with joy, and begged Valenti to complete so good a work, by causing the congregation to study the offices of the other six months. For this they waited until after the autumn vacation, but from December 2nd, 1746, to March 10th, 1747, they met every week. On that date the work was completed by the presentation of their report on the offices for the Common of saints by Lercari, Antonelli, and Giorgi. The work of the congregation, after occupying not less than six years, was at last finished. Valenti drew up the second part of his *Specimen Breviarii reformati*, and sent it in to the Pope.[3] Benedict XIV had now in his hands the project of reform both as regarded the kalendar and the office: he wished to have leisure both to look over it himself, and to discuss it, and anyone might well trust the sagacity of his mind, the force of his genius, and the extent of his erudition.[4]

Valenti concluded his report with these words: "We now await with confidence the decision of the Sovereign Pontiff". It was about Easter, 1747.

We have now given a summary of the history, as related by Valenti, of the labours of the congregation appointed for the reform of the breviary. We have enumerated, always following Valenti, the various suppressions and reductions in rank agreed on in regard to festivals. It remains for us, in order to give a complete idea of the work, to indicate also, as briefly as

[1] Roskovany, p. 572; *Analecta*, p. 532. [2] *Analecta*, pp. 633 *sqq.*
[3] *ibid.* pp. 889 *sqq.* [4] Roskovany, p. 575; *Analecta*, p. 635.

possible, the corrections proposed by the congregation in the actual text of the offices which they retained.

The corrections introduced in the Proper of the season were few in number, and only affected the lectionary. The passage from S. Gregory, in the third nocturn of the first Sunday in Advent, in which he sees in the calamities of his own time the signs which heralded the end of the world, was replaced by another piece of the same homily, in which the saint simply expresses the joy which the faithful ought to feel at the approach of that end, regarded as the blessed coming of Christ. The curtailed and unpleasing extract from S. Jerome, which serves for the lessons of the second Sunday, was replaced by a very beautiful passage of S. Fulgentius, full of theological instruction. On Christmas Eve, S. Jerome's homily, disfigured by its rude plainness of diction, gave place to a delicately expressed meditation from S. John Chrysostom on the same text —*Cum esset desponsata Mater Jesu.* The homily for the day after Ash Wednesday, taken from S. Augustine, and difficult of comprehension, was replaced by another from the same author, on a simpler subject and in a clearer style. For the homily on Ember Wednesday in Lent, taken from S. Ambrose, was substituted a passage from S. John Chrysostom, plainer and more appropriate. On the Friday of the same week, for S. Augustine's development of the symbolism of the number forty, was substituted another passage from the same Father, more on our level. For the Friday after mid-Lent Sunday, instead of the homily of S. Augustine on Lazarus which affirms the identity of Mary his sister with Mary Magdalene,[1] a passage from S. Fulgentius was proposed, in which the question as to Mary is not raised, and containing these beautiful and striking words :—

> Jesus lacrymas fudit. . . . Plorabat, sed non utique plorabat, ut Judaei putabant, quia Lazarum satis amabat. Sed ideo plorabat quia iterum eum ad hujus vitae miserias revocabat.[2]

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[1] On this subject the congregation expresses its opinion as follows: "In celeberrima quaestione, quam hic attingere non est necesse, visum est congregationi non esse recedendum a veteri traditione Romanae Ecclesiae". *Analecta*, p. 908. As a matter of fact, the belief had always been entertained at Rome—in accordance with the universal Latin tradition—of the identity of Mary of Bethany both with Mary Magdalene and the anonymous penitent at Naïn. In France, in the seventeenth century, the opposite opinion was generally held: see Bossuet, *Sur Les Trois Madeleines.*

[2] "Jesus wept. . . . Yet surely He grieved not, as the Jews thought, because He loved Lazarus so dearly, but because He was recalling him to the miseries of this present life."

On Wednesday in Passion week, a better selection was made from S. Augustine's homily, making it begin at *Hiems erat*, and suppressing the useless introductory passage about the *Encaenia* which serves as the first lesson. On the Thursday, suppressing the passage from S. Gregory, in which Mary of Bethany and Mary Magdalene are identified, another passage from the same homily was substituted, in which Mary is not mentioned. On Thursday in Easter week there is the same identification of the two Maries, in a homily of S. Gregory's; it was replaced by one from S. Augustine. On Tuesday in the octave of Ascension a sermon of S. Maximus, in which our Lord is compared to the eagle, gave place to one of S. Bernard's, without the reason for the correction being apparent. Lastly, on the twelfth Sunday after Pentecost, instead of the homily from Bede, merely general in its subject, was given one from S. Ambrose, on the parable of the Good Samaritan, the actual subject of the Gospel for the day. These are the amendments introduced by the congregation into the lectionary of the Proper of the season.[1]

The office of the Proper of saints underwent graver modifications. Let us take first the antiphonary and responsoral.

The antiphons and responds for S. Andrew's Day, being borrowed from the apocryphal acts of that Apostle, were for that reason suppressed. The antiphons were replaced by new ones, taken from the New Testament; the responds were to be those of the Common of Apostles. The office of S. Thomas the Apostle was enriched with proper antiphons, instead of having only those of the Common, as in the breviary at present; and these new antiphons were taken from the Gospel of S. John—"*ad majorem S. Apostoli celebritatem*". The first antiphon at lauds on S. John Evangelist's Day was replaced by a new one, more in accordance, it was said, with the text of the Gospel. On Holy Innocents' Day, instead of the antiphons of the Common of martyrs, new proper antiphons were given, taken from Isaiah and the Apocalypse. Instead of the antiphon of the Common of Sovereign Pontiffs, at *Magnificat* in Second Vespers of the office of S. Peter's Chair at Rome, that of the First Vespers—*Tu es pastor ovium* —was repeated. No change was made in the antiphons and responds of Candlemas, except that the passage *Senex Puerum portabat*, used for the antiphon to *Magnificat* at first vespers and for the eighth respond at mattins—being taken

[1] *Analecta*, pp. 634-42, 890.

from a spurious discourse attributed to S. Augustine—was replaced by a new antiphon and another respond,[1] in each case taken from the Gospel. The office for the Annunciation lost the third and eighth responds at mattins, the congregation disliking the words *Efficieris gravida*, etc., and *Cunctas haereses sola interemisti.* The proper antiphons and responds for SS. Lucy, Agnes, Agatha, Laurence, Cæcilia, and Clement were suppressed, as being taken from the acts of these saints, documents the authority of which was not recognized by the congregation. The antiphons and responds of the Common were substituted for them.

Secondly, as to the lectionary of the Proper of saints.

S. Andrew was now to have, for the lessons of the second nocturn, part of a sermon by S. Peter Chrysologus, an eulogium of the Apostle without any historical allusion, in place of the legend as at present, taken from the pretended letter of the priests of Achaia:—

> Quum vero acta illa supposititia et falsa a recentioribus criticis habeantur, ut pene ad evidentiam demonstrat Tillemontius, dubia certe quam maxime et in controversia posita sint, consultius visum est omittere, et quae inconcussae fidei sunt subrogare.[2]

The following sets of lessons were also suppressed: (1) Those in the second nocturn of S. Thomas the Apostle. Replaced by a sermon from S. John Chrysostom on his incredulity. The legend given in the Roman breviary is in fact neither certain in itself, nor confirmed by other authorities, while it is controverted by critics.[3] (2) Those in the second nocturn of S. Barnabas, which "*innituntur Actis spuriis*".[4] Replaced by a sermon from S. John Chrysostom, a simple commentary on canonical texts. (3) Those in the third nocturn of S. Joachim, being a passage from S. John Damascene setting forth the genealogy of Joachim and Anna: for "that which Damascenus here relates is drawn from apocryphal writings, according to the common opinion of learned

[1] This respond, beginning with the words *Nunc dimittis*, was not actually new, being taken from the ancient antiphonary of S. Peter's, published by Tomasi, t. IV. p. 64.

[2] *Analecta*, p. 643: "Since these acts are held by modern critics for false and fictitious, as Tillemont proves almost to conviction, and are at the very least most doubtful, and matters of controversy, it seemed the wisest course to omit them, and substitute what cannot be impugned".

[3] *ibid.* p. 647: "Quae illic narrantur . . . certa et explorata non sunt, pluresque patiuntur difficultates apud historiae ecclesiasticae tractatores".

[4] *ibid.* p. 900. This is saying a great deal too much, since they are for the most part founded on the canonical "Acts of the Apostles".

men."[1] (4) Those in the second nocturn of S. Peter's Chains: for "what they relate (viz. the story of the chains) is contested by almost all critics."[2] The congregation quote Tillemont and Baillet. Replaced by a sermon of S. John Chrysostom's in lessons V. and VI., while lesson IV. is a careful exposition of the claim to authenticity of the chains preserved in the basilica of S. Peter's *ad Vincula* on the Esquiline. (5) Those in the second nocturn of the feast of S. Mary of the Snows. Replaced by a sermon of S. Bernard's which has nothing to do with the legend of the Liberian basilica.[3] (6) Those in the second nocturn of S. Bartholomew, because "nothing certain can be affirmed about this Apostle, beyond what we are told in the Gospel. Not to speak of other critics, see Tillemont". Replaced by a sermon of Bede's on the Twelve Apostles.[4] (7) The fourth and fifth lessons for S. Matthew, "because of the uncertainty of the things therein related about the Apostles.[5] Replaced by passages from S. John Chrysostom and S. Epiphanius.

On all the festivals that follow, the historical lessons were suppressed, or replaced by those of the Common of saints.[6] SS. Nicolas (*Suspectae admodum fidei*); Lucy (*Certae et exploratae fidei non sunt*); Marius, Martha and Audifax (*Plura*

[1] *Analecta*, p. 909: "Quum nonnisi ex apocryphis desumpta existiment communiter eruditi".

[2] *ibid.* p. 913: "Quae in Breviario extant historiam exhibent quae criticis pene omnibus non probatur".

[3] On the Liberian legend the congregation expresses itself as follows (*Analecta*, p. 915):—

"Lectiones secundi nocturni, quae hac die usque modo recitatae sunt, immutandas sane esse existimatur. De ea solemnitate, quae hac die celebratur, ejusque institutionis causa, habentur, ait Baronius in *Martyrologio Romano*, vetera monumenta et MSS. Hujusmodi autem monumenta et MSS. nec unquam vidimus, nec fortasse unquam videbimus. Mirandum profecto est, ait Baillet, non adhuc tanti miraculi et tam mirabilis historiae auctorem innotuisse; insuper quod tam novum tamque stupendum prodigium spatio annorum fere mille et amplius profundo sepultum silentio jacuerit, nec usquam inveniri potuerit, praeterquam in Breviario et in Catalogo Petri de Natalibus, lib. 7, cap. 21."

"It is thought that the lessons hitherto read on this day in the second nocturn should certainly be changed. Baronius, in the *Roman Martyrology*, says that ancient records and MSS. exist relating to the solemn festival observed on this day, and the cause of its institution. But any such records and MSS. we have never seen, and in all probability are never likely to see. Marvellous indeed is it, says Baillet, that the authority for so great a miracle and so wonderful a story should never yet have been produced; still more so that so strange and stupendous a prodigy should have lain buried in silence for about a thousand years or more, and that it should be impossible to find a trace of it anywhere, except in the breviary, and in the catalogue of Peter de Natalibus, book 7, chapter 21."

[4] *Analecta*, p. 920. [5] *ibid.* p. 926. [6] *ibid.* pp. 644 *sqq.*, 892 *sqq.*

illis objicit Tillemontius quae difficillimum est complanare); Peter Nolasco (*Ejus gesta, quae ibi narrantur, nunquam in examen adducta sunt*); Agatha (*Acta* [*ejus*] *a recentioribus inter apocrypha accensentur*); Blaise (*Quae in ejus vita narrantur inepta sunt et male consuta, ex Tillemontio*); Tiburtius, Valerian, and Maximus (*Desumpta ex actis S Caeciliae, expungenda*); Caius, Pope (*Nullius vel dubiae fidei*); Cletus, Pope (*Incerta*); Alexander, Eventius, and Theodulus (*Nihil certi . . . mendosa*); Juvenal (*Acta erroribus plena pronuntiat Tillemontius*); Gordian and Epimachus (*Incerta, multis difficultatibus sive controversiis subjecta*); Urban (*Monumenta falsa vel fidei admodum dubiae*); Basilides, Cyrinus, Nabor and Nazarius (*Acta spuria et falsa in pluribus*); Processus and Martinian (*Acta non esse authentica probat Tillemontius*); Praxedis (*Acta parum sincera . . . nulla fide digna*); Pudentiana, Abdon and Sennen (*Acta corrupta . . . fabulosa*); Cyriacus, Largus and Smaragdus (*Acta depravata*); Hippolytus (*Ex actis S. Laurentii . . . actis corruptis*); Timothy[1] (*De quo maximae, et spinis undique circumscriptae, lites apud criticos sunt*); Adrian and Gorgonius, Protus and Hyacinth (*Acta apocrypha esse contendunt Tillemontius et Bailletus*); Nicomede, a companion of SS. Nereus and Achilles (*Fidei valde dubiae*); Callixtus (*Incerta sunt quae in ea narrantur*); Mennas (*Plurimis scatent difficultatibus*).

New Proper lessons replaced the suppressed historical lessons of the following: SS. Damasus, Sylvester, Hilary, Felix of Nola, Paul the Hermit, Marcellus, Anthony, Fabian, John Chrysostom, Pius V, Peter Celestine, Felix the Pope, Peter and Marcellinus, Primus and Felician, Margaret of Scotland, Marcus and Marcellianus, Gervase and Protase, Paulinus of Nola, Elizabeth of Portugal,[2] John Gualbert, Apollinaris;[3] Nazarius and Celsus, Popes Victor and Innocent, Martha, Popes Stephen and Sixtus, Tiburtius, Susanna, Perpetua and Felicitas, Clara, Philip Beniti, Stephen of Hungary, the Forty Martyrs,

[1] Not St. Paul's disciple, but a Roman martyr, commemorated on Aug. 22nd.

[2] The proper antiphons and responds of the office for this festival, though it was the work of Urban VIII in person, were also to be suppressed, and the festival reduced to the rank of a simple.

[3] The congregation replaced the legend of S. Apollinaris by a panegyric sermon by S. Peter Chrysologus, without any historical reference, and justified the correction as follows: "De S. Apollinare nihil asserere certius possumus quam quod legimus in hoc sermone S. Petri Chrysologi. Ab hoc dissentiunt Acta, quae S. Apollinarem in ipso Martyrii actu obiisse narrant. Sed Acta ista, tametsi antiqua, inter sincera tamen non retulit Ruinartius, et interpolata esse fatetur Joannes Pinius. Addit Tillemontius multa in illis contineri quae ipsis detrahant auctoritatem. Hinc sermonem istum legendum exhibent Breviaria Lugdunense et Parisiense". *Analecta*, p. 909.

Nereus and Achilles, the Exaltation of Holy Cross, Cornelius and Cyprian, Januarius, Maurice, Remigius, the Dedication of S. John Lateran, Gregory the Wonder-worker, John de Matha, Caecilia, Clement, Chrysogonus, and Polycarp.

Besides these legends, a certain number of apocryphal homilies and sermons were suppressed in the Proper of saints. The pretended sermon of S. Augustine, in the second nocturn of the Holy Innocents, was replaced by a sermon of S. Bernard's, "in order that all uncertain or suspected matter may be banished from our breviary".[1] For another pretended sermon of S. Augustine, in the second nocturn of Candlemas, was substituted another sermon of S. Bernard's. For a third apocryphal sermon of S. Augustine, in the second nocturn of St. Peter's Chair at Rome, was substituted a fragment of S. Cyprian's *De unitate Ecclesiae*. In the second nocturn of the Visitation of our Lady, a sermon of S. Bernard's took the place of an apocryphal sermon of S. John Chrysostom.[2] In like manner, in the third nocturn of the office of S. John Gualbert, a homily of S. John Chrysostom was put in the place of the three lessons which are now in the breviary, and which are there attributed to S. Jerome, although only the first is his, the other two being taken from an apocryphal sermon of S. Augustine's.[3]

[1] *Analecta*, p. 649.

[2] *ibid.* p. 904: ". . . illi substituendus sermo S. Bernardi, etsi isto utantur etiam in eodem festo Breviaria Lugdunense et Parisiense".

[3] *ibid.* p. 907. This part of the revision by Benedict XIV's consultators is very incomplete. Dom Morin, who has latterly made a study of the same subject, notes a total number of fifty apocryphal homilies or sermons in the Roman breviary of to-day. It is true the greater part of these are of recent introduction. Dom Morin writes: "In the greater part of the offices added to the breviary in recent times, it does not seem that as much care has been taken [as formerly] to select none but authentic passages to serve as sermons or homilies. Thus, for example, in spite of all the various recastings to which it has been subjected at such short intervals of time, the office of the Immaculate Conception, of such importance from a dogmatic point of view, gives as the first and second lessons of the second nocturn a passage from the notorious *Cogitis me*, which claims the name of S. Jerome, the authenticity of which was already called in question by the more acute-minded in the ninth century, and which all critics since the time of Baronius have without exception rejected as manifestly apocryphal." *Revue Bénédictine*, 1891, pp. 270-80. See the same subject handled by Bäumer, t. II. pp. 452-60. The office of the Immaculate Conception, composed after the definition of the dogma in 1854, was the work of Father Passaglia, S.J. It was in use from 1855 to 1863, when it was replaced (August 27th) by the present office, which Bäumer (t. II. p. 411) believes to have been derived from a sketch dating back to the time of Gavanti. We may say without hesitation that he indicates the need for a severe correction of the lessons of this festival and its octave. Not only is the sermon of S. Jerome in the second nocturn on December 8th apocryphal, but the homily of S. Epiphanius in the third nocturn on December 15th is equally so: while those of S. Germanus (December 8th), S. Sophronius (December 14th), and S. Tharasius (December 12th) are all undoubtedly characterized by the worst possible rhetoric.

The lectionary of the Common of saints underwent only two corrections, of no great importance. In the Common of evangelists, a different passage from S. Gregory was substituted for that now there; and in the Common of many martyrs, *secundo loco*, another passage from S. Gregory took the place of the homily of S. Ambrose. The congregation considered these two portions of homilies better fitted to the text of the Gospel, and more edifying.[1]

III.

It will not be requisite to discuss one by one the various corrections proposed by the congregation of Benedict XIV. But we feel obliged to express an opinion on the general character of this projected reform of the breviary, and to state the reasons why it was never carried out.

First, let us note the respect shown by the congregation for the ancient elements of the Roman breviary: I mean, the traditional distribution of the psalter, and the office of the season. They propose no correction on these points: with the traditional distribution of the psalter over the canonical hours of prayer, and with the office of the season, they regard no interference as admissible. Nay more, they defend these vital and essential features of the ancient Roman Office with remarkable determination. At their first meeting in July, 1741, they declare the Roman distribution of the psalms to be a matter outside the sphere of discussion. When, in March, 1744, Cardinal Tamburini, gaining the support of the other members of the congregation of cardinals, demands that the distribution of the psalter should be discussed before the revision of the kalendar, the consultators refuse: they repulse the various schemes of redistribution sent in to them, by a final resolution to admit none of them, and in September, 1744, they have the satisfaction of seeing Benedict XIV confirm their decision. The very constitution of the ancient Roman Office is in their eyes beyond discussion. Here we have a broad line of distinction between the work of the liturgists of Benedict XIV and that of the Gallicans. The latter wished for, and carried out, a complete recasting of the breviary; the former are unanimous in their determination to attempt nothing more than a correction, as had been the intent of Clement VIII. If, for once, in December, 1744, they are tempted to make

[1] *Analecta*, p. 933.

something more than a mere correction in the office of the season, Valenti and the Pope at once remind them that it is a thing which they have themselves abjured: "*propterea quod Breviarii reformatio sibi esset in votis, non innovatio*"—says the Sovereign Pontiff.[1]

In fact, beyond five or six unimportant modifications in the lectionary, the office of the season comes forth intact from the revision of the Roman liturgists. The structure and the text of this, which is the real Roman Office, are beyond and above interference, and these Roman liturgists have the advantage over the Gallicans, in being, from the first, convinced of this, and of being inflexible in upholding it.

In the second place—and on this point they deserve our highest praise—their method of work did not run counter to that of the Council of Trent and S. Pius V, but was in conformity with the spirit of the Council and the Pope to whom we owe the preservation of the breviary under the process of reform. It was because the distribution of the psalter had been maintained, and the office of the season stamped with his authority by Pius V, that they held to them so firmly. And if, on the other hand, they were more than bold in their handling of the reform of the kalendar and the *Sanctorale*, it was because they were convinced, and that, too, on the word of the liturgists of Pius V, that it was the intent of the Council and the Pope to reduce the status of the *Sanctorale* in order to raise that of the *Temporale*, and to promote the more constant use of the Sunday and ferial offices as compared with the office of saints' days. The *a priori* liturgical method, which is the vice of all the Gallican reforms of the breviary, is absent in the work of our Roman liturgists: M. de Vintimille carried out the projects of Grancolas and Foinard: the idea in the mind of Benedict XIV is to take up the work of Pius V.

Accordingly, our liturgists take up that work, in lightening the kalendar of fixed festivals, which had so largely increased since 1568, both in number and in rank of dignity: some feasts they had to suppress, others to reduce to a lower status. Here it is that their difficulties begin. No doubt, the Church has instituted certain feasts, or raised them in rank, for reasons which lose their weight with the lapse of time: for instance, who could deny that the amount of devotion to the sanctuary of S. Michael on Mount Garganus which exists to-day would never be looked upon as sufficient ground for placing the

[1] *Analecta*, p. 530.

festival of May 8th in the kalendar of the Universal Church. There are, then, among ancient festivals, some which no longer excite any perceptible degree of devotion on the part of the faithful, and their diminution in rank, or even their removal, would cause no considerable offence or grief. And yet, to handle such matters aright, what delicacy of perception is required! What dangers and difficulties surround their decision! On what solid principles must that decision be founded! Did the congregation of Benedict XIV possess that degree of tact? And had they the right criteria to guide them in their decisions? It is sufficient to read the preface of their reformed kalendar, and the discourse addressed to them by Benedict XIV in 1744,[1] to be convinced that such solid criteria were lacking to them. They retain in the kalendar those saints whose festivals are ancient: where does antiquity end? They retain those who are dear to the devotion of the Universal Church, or on behalf of whom some special reason can be urged: what saint is there who could not be made to fit into one or other of these two categories? And as to tact: the list of saints eliminated from the kalendar includes some of the most venerable and best beloved—SS. Louis Gonzaga, Francis Borgia, John of the Cross, Elizabeth of Hungary—not to mention Gregory VII, and a host of others, more dear to universal devotion than many a name whose sole claim to retention in the kalendar is its antiquity. Here was the chief difficulty, and it is one which will always exist—the selection of saints to be retained in the kalender, and the degree of rank to be assigned to each of those retained. Everybody was sensible that the difficulty existed; the thing was, to resolve it: and it seems to me that on this rock the congregation struck.

If we have the right to speak with some severity of the kalendar proposed by the congregation, it is only just to acknowledge the scrupulous care which it bestowed on purging the text of the breviary from all errors. The lectionary required correction: it requires it still. Our Roman liturgists were well up in all the science of their time; they derived it from Tillemont, Baillet, Ruinart, Tomasi, and Benedict XIV himself—most of all from Tillemont and Baillet, enlightened and scrupulous critics. They pushed their severity, in fact, too far, much further than the liturgists of Urban VIII; they rejected

[1] I allude to the reservations made by the Pope as to principles formulated by ths consultators.

anything that was so much as controverted; they were unwilling that the text of the breviary should be in the least degree open to question, and thus, along with the chaff, not a little good grain was thrown out. At the present time, there would be some room for correcting their corrections, and for pointing out that, if they were right in eliminating from the breviary every trace of forged decretals, apocryphal Acts of Apostles, and unfounded legends of saints, yet, for all that, "in the most corrupt histories there is generally some truth at the bottom," as Tillemont says somewhere, with great reason; and more than that, legends which are entirely untrue often have a value of some sort of their own; all that is necessary is that the reader should be forewarned as to their nature, and take them at their true value.[1] More indulgent, because more experienced, a more conservative spirit would be manifested by our liturgists of to-day in the editing of the historical portions of the lectionary than the congregation of Benedict XIV were willing to show; and our Bollandists would make a better correction of the breviary without throwing overboard so much.

So again, with less attachment to the principle so dear to the Gallican liturgists, in accordance with which the antiphons and responds should be exclusively derived from Holy Scripture—a principle to which our Roman liturgists felt themselves more than once compelled to be unfaithful—we, on the contrary, feel no repugnance to singing the antiphons and responds of SS. Lucy, Agnes, Caecilia, Clement, and Laurence, those compositions so deeply stamped with the authority of Roman liturgical tradition. And we should not be sorry to believe that the congregation eventually shared this feeling, since in the end they retained, in the Common of saints, certain antiphons and responds which, far from being taken from Holy Scripture, were, just as much as the responds of S. Andrew, borrowed from acts more or less historical, or even from apocryphal writings: as is the case with the respond *Lux perpetua lucebit sanctis Tuis et aeternitas temporum* of the common of martyrs, or the *Quem vidi, quem amavi* of the common of widows.

Our readers will see from these criticisms how far we are

[1] The Church does not solemnly affirm the truth of the historical statements contained in her liturgical books, such as the breviary and the martyrology. This is freely recognised by Bouix (*De jure liturgico*, 4th edit. Paris, 1886, pp. 56-7), who however had not made a study of historical criticism, and to say the truth, had no great knowledge of it. Benedict XIV is more cautious. *De festis*, p. 473.

from considering that the correction of the breviary prepared by these Roman liturgists was in all points either just or prudent. How far they were under the influence of the Gallican liturgists is for us only a secondary consideration. We know, on the one hand, that there was a fundamental difference between the views of De Vintimille and Valenti: and on the other hand, as regards what they had in common, however true it may be that concessions were made in favour of the Gallican liturgy and in deference to Gallican erudition by a pontifical congregation, yet, if we entertained the idea of drawing thence any inferences in favour of that liturgy and that erudition, which some have been too eager to disparage, we should have to remember that, after all, the Holy See never resolved the doubts of its consultators, or gave its judgment on their propositions.

But we must beware of putting a bad construction on that silence, and making it a handle for charging the Pope with a dishonest reserve: it would be utterly false to say—as some have dared to say—that Benedict XIV did not really desire the carrying out of that reform of the breviary which he had put in hand: his straightforwardness is unquestionable. Benedict XIV, in the words of the splendid panegyric which Cardinal Tencin pronounced on him, "was incapable, not merely of any deceit in his conduct, but of the least dissimulation".[1] But he was too sagacious a man not to see how great were the difficulties which attended any such reform.

In 1743, Benedict XIV wrote to Cardinal Tencin: "As to a new Roman breviary, we recognize not only the advantage of it, but the necessity, and we are ready to set to work on it, being well accustomed to labour ever since we were in the world, and prepared, if need be, to die in the breach, like a brave soldier. But, my dear Cardinal, the whole world has arrived at such a contempt of the authority of the Holy See, that, to hinder the execution of its most useful or most pious designs, there is only needed, we will not say the opposition of a bishop, a town, or a nation, but the protest of a simple monk. We have only too constant experience of it, not to speak of the murmurs of some who wear the same habit as your Eminence, who, when they hear of the project of a new breviary, shudder at it as if it were a question of making a new creed. But, in spite of all this, and *non obstantibus quibuscunque*, we

[1] Letter of Tencin to Amelot, May 5th, 1741. *Corr. de Rome*, t. 785, fol. 9.

will devise with your Eminence what can be done to that end." [1]

A few days later he writes: "We do not lose sight of the notion of a new Roman breviary, but we will candidly avow to your Eminence that we still fear the opposition which this great project is sure to encounter on the part of many persons here, besides what it will meet with in the countries beyond the Alps. Many people are whispering to one another here that nothing will be done in the matter of the breviary of the Archbishop of Paris, on the pretext of awaiting the appearance of ours; and that when we have worked hard at the latter, the French bishops will be the first to criticize it. It is all by way of saying something smart, but it annoys us all the same." [2]

And again: "The project of a new Roman breviary is excellent, and the execution of it not at all impossible; but before undertaking it, much deliberation is necessary. The state of the world nowadays is such, that if the Pope does anything, those whom it happens to please are on his side, and those who don't like it go against him; and as it is impossible for the same thing to please everybody, mishaps and rebuffs are sure to be his share from one side or the other. Well-disposed persons urge the Pope to do this or that, and when he has done it, even if they do not change their minds, they at all events tell him that they cannot give him any assistance. We have seen with our own eyes Clement XI bite his nails more than once, when, after having published the bull "*Unigenitus*," he saw how Louis XIV never kept the promise he had made, of causing the bull to be accepted throughout his kingdom, and how M. Amelot said to his very face that the King had the best dispositions in the world, but could not do all he would wish. And we have experienced the same kind of thing ourselves." [3]

Thus spoke Benedict XIV in 1743, when the consultators, as we may say, were still only beginning their preliminary studies. When those studies are at last finished, and Valenti has put into the hands of the Pope the resolutions finally arrived at by the congregation—and we have seen what confidence Valenti had in the excellence of the results achieved

[1] Letter of Benedict XIV to Tencin, April 26th, 1743. *Corr. de Rome*, t. 791, fol. 215. Heeckesen, t. 1. p. 49.

[2] *ibid.* May 3rd, 1743. *Corr. de Rome*, t. 771, fol. 227. Heeckesen, t. 1. p. 61.

[3] *ibid.* February 8th, 1743. *Corr. de Rome*, t. 791, fol. 52. Heeckesen, t. 1. p. 31.

after those long and laborious discussions—the tone of the Sovereign Pontiff changes all at once: his disappointment is unmistakable, but his determination is unshaken. The work of the congregation is to his mind a failure, but he forms the plan of recasting it himself. In fact, in 1748, he writes as follows:—

"When reprinting here, by the request and at the cost of the King of Portugal, the Roman martyrology, we have seized the opportunity to make certain additions to it, as your Eminence will see by the preface, which we enclose. Would to God we had followed the same plan in regard to the correction of the Roman breviary, and had worked at it by ourselves! It would have been completed long ago. But we started by appointing a congregation, who have finished by giving in their conclusions to us in a state so confused, so obscure, and so contradictory, that it is a greater labour to correct them than to correct the breviary. Nevertheless, if God grants us life and health, we shall not fail even now to construct our new edition of the corrected breviary."[1]

No one, as Benedict XIV loved to say, who thinks he knows how to do a thing himself (*fare una cosa da se*), can easily make up his mind to let others do it. And if he willingly left to others matters of ceremonial and politics, he felt he could handle by himself things relating to positive theology and canon law. "The Pope," said Cardinal Tencin, too cavalierly, "has an itching desire to make books and decrees."[2] In reality, he was a learned man who knew no other recreation or consolation, in the midst of his thorny charge, than to get into his library and resume his dear old studies. With what care he touched and retouched the new editions of his treatises on Canonization and on Diocesan Synods! It may be also that he had no great confidence in the capacity of his Roman collaborators, on any subject.[3] At all events, he put the revision of the breviary on the list of his personal undertakings. In

[1] Letter of Benedict XIV to Tencin, August 7th, 1748. *Corr. de Rome*, t. 796, fol. 254: C' imbarcammo a deputare una Congregatione, che finalmente ci hà dati i suoi sentimenti tanto confusi e tanto imbrogliati, e tanto dissoni fra di loro, che si vuole più fatica a corregere quelli, che il Breviario. Se Iddio ci dara vita e sanità, non mancheremo di fare ancora la nuova edizione del Breviario coretto".

[2] Letter of Tencin to Fleury, October 20th, 1741. *Corr. de Rome*, t. 786, fol. 117. Heeckesen, t. 1. p. 421.

[3] Benedict XIV to Tencin, August 1st, 1743: "The whole mischief has been caused by the pontificate of Benedict XIII, who had not the least idea of governing, and by that of Clement XII, who passed his life in talking. It is the oxen from that stable with which we have to plough."

September, 1748, he wrote: "As to the Roman breviary, we have taken up that matter ourselves. But to complete it we must have more time to devote to it than we have at present, being in truth not so much besieged with work as overwhelmed with it."[1]

In 1755 he had not given up thinking of it: "Two tasks," he wrote, "remain for us to accomplish: one relating to the Sacraments, the administration of which in the Eastern Church demands new rules or new explanations; the other, an honest correction of our breviary—*l' atra è un' onesta correzione del nostro Breviario.* We are not afraid of this work, having our storehouse already full of materials—*Noi non recusiamo la fatica, avendi già il magazzino pieno de materiali.*" He had in mind either the studies made by his consultators, or his own researches on the subject. "But," he adds with sadness, "some time would be needed, and one cannot easily find it: or if perchance one does find it, the weight of years and infirmities makes itself felt."[2]

On February 18th, 1756, he writes again: "If God grants us life and health, we shall write a little work which will contain all that concerns the matter and form of the Sacraments in the Eastern Church. . . . We have revived here the study of Greek affairs, but without dispensing ourselves from working at them in person—*senza essentarci dal faticare personalmente.* Ah, why are we at such an advanced age, made a prisoner by the gout, and so preoccupied with the grave affairs of the West!"[3]

Thus in 1755 he still has thoughts of accomplishing the correction of the breviary, of doing it himself, and after he has settled the question of the Greek ritual. In 1756 the latter is in a fair way to be settled before long: the turn of the breviary will come at last, and the Pope will give us that *onesta correzione del Breviario*, for which he has all the materials in hand.

[1] Letter of Benedict XIV to Tencin, September 25th, 1748. *Corr. de Rome*, t. 796, fol. 274: "Rispetto al Breviario, abbiamo ripigliata la materia. Ma per ridurla a capo, vi vorrebbe piu tempo da impiegarci di quello che sa hà, essendo veramente non che circondati ma oppressi dalle fatiche". In another letter to the same, August 6th, 1749. *Corr. de Rome*, t. 805, fol. 112: "Noi invidiamo la sorte di alcuni nostri Predecessori che nulla vedevano, nulla leggevano, e nulla scrivevano. La loro vita era tutta interiore, ma Noi, che non l' abbiamo mai pratticata, saressimo molta imbarazzati se nell' ultima nostra età la dovessimo abbracciare". Another letter to the same, September 17th, 1749, *ibid.* fol. 131: "Rispetto alla Congregazione dell' Indice, se Iddio ci darà vita, pensiamo di stabilirvi alcune regole senza le quali ci pare difficile il mantenere il di lui credito, e la giustizia della condanna delle opere degl' Autori Cattolici, particolarmente viventi".

[2] Letter of Benedict XIV to Peggi, August 13th, 1755, *Briefe*, p. 115.

[3] Letter to the same, February 18th, 1756, *ibid.* p. 121.

But the task is heavy, and the age is one which is difficult to satisfy—"*Il secolo presente è di contentatura difficile*," [1] and by May 4th, 1758, the Pope is dead.

[1] Letter to the same, April 16th, 1758, *ibid.* p. 134. A letter from Benedict XIV to Tencin, April 7th, 1756 (Heeckesen, t. II. p. 490) gives some details as to the Greek Euchology or Ritual, which had just been printed at the Propaganda press. In a letter to the same, of April 28th, he speaks of the abridgment which he was having made of his book on the Canonization of Saints (*id.* p. 495). On June 2nd he recurs to the subject (p. 503), and we find that the author of this abridgment was a Frenchman, Bouget, and not the Jesuit Azevedo.

CHAPTER VII.

THE DECREE OF 1911.

FROM the point which we have now reached in this history we can discern clearly the contrast between the two plans—that of the Roman Breviary of Pius V, and that of the Parisian Breviary of 1736—and between the two, the failure of the efforts for conciliation made so persistently from 1741 to 1758 by Benedict XIV.

The whole intention of Pius V was that of weeding out what was adventitious and of doubtful authority, and of retaining all that was genuine and ancient—[*removere ea*] *quae aliena et incerta sunt, de propria summa veteris officii divini nihil omittere*—this maxim inspires the whole reform of 1568. Pius V aimed at restoring to their rightful place of honour the office of the season, the Sunday office, and the ferial office. He maintained (with some slight re-arrangement) the traditional order of reciting the psalter in the common of the season. He endeavoured to cut down the kalendar of Saints' days, to reduce in number or in degree of rank the festivals which usurped the place of the office of the season. He revised the lectionary, with a view to leaving, in the historical or patristic lessons, nothing but what was in his opinion grave, authentic, and true.

Unfortunately, the reduction of the *Sanctorale* effected by Pius V lasted but for a moment: festivals of nine lessons, after his time, were multiplied afresh, to the prejudice both of the Sunday and ferial office: and the equilibrium which he had restored was almost immediately destroyed.[1]

[1] P. Piacenza, *In Constitutionem "Divino Afflatu" commentarium* (Rome [1911]), gives a comparative table of the number and rank of festivals (omitting those of our Lord which are included in the proper of the season), taken from various editions of the breviary published at Rome:—

	1568.	1676.	1738.	1846.	1911.
Doubles of the 1st class .	4	4	4	4	9
„ „ 2nd „ .	18	20	21	21	23
Greater doubles . . .	—	14	17	20	25
Lesser doubles . . .	48	58	89	111	133
Semi-doubles . . .	34	63	60	55	53
	284				

This failure of the Roman reform of 1568—a failure which Romans were the very first to deplore[1]—explains, while it does not justify, the initiative taken at Paris in 1736.[2] The Parisian liturgists, equally with Pius V, aim at restoring to honour the office of the season, the Sunday office, and the ferial office. With a view to reducing the *Sanctorale*, they adopt a new classification of festivals.[3] In the next place, they apply themselves to giving privilege to the Sunday office,[4] and also to the ferial office.[5] The prime novelty of the Parisian breviary is the distribution of the psalter. The psalmody at mattins consists uniformly of nine psalms.[6] But while, in the ferial office, that of simple feasts, and of semi-doubles, these nine psalms are all said in one nocturn, and are followed by three lessons, in the Sunday office they are divided between the three nocturns and are accompanied by nine lessons. On festivals of the rank of *Doubles* and under, the psalms are always those of the feria. The psalter is distributed in such

Including the days within octaves on which the office of the octave is said, one gets a total of 130 days kept as festivals in 1568; 186, in 1676; 217, in 1738; 237, in 1846; 266, in 1911.

[1] Piacenza, p. 18, quotes—in addition to Pope Gregory XIII, the immediate successor of Pius V—the liturgists Gavanti and Mercati; but, above all, Cavalieri, a contemporary of Benedict XIV, who complains with much warmth of the *festorum prurigo* which has seized alike on the secular and regular clergy; causing them to put aside the ferial office, and celebrate every day festivals of saints: not so much in order to show devotion to the saints, as to have a shorter office to recite.

[2] I think it worth while, in view of the present importance of the subject, to recur to the description given above, pp. 240-242, and to give some further details.

[3] Greater Annual Feasts (Easter, Pentecost, Christmas, Dedication of the Church of the place), Lesser Annual Feasts (Epiphany, Ascension, Corpus Christi, Assumption, All Saints, feast of the Patron and Titular Saint of the place), Greater Solemn Feasts (Candlemas, Lady Day, Anniversary of the Dedication of the Church of the place), Lesser Solemn Feasts (Trinity Sunday, Circumcision of our Lord, feast of the Secondary Patron Saint of the place), Greater Doubles, Lesser Doubles, Semi-doubles, Simples.

[4] The first Sunday of Advent and of Lent, Passion Sunday, Palm Sunday and Low Sunday are not superseded by any feast, even *Annual*; the second, third, and fourth Sundays of Advent and of Lent are only superseded by *Annual* Feasts; Septuagesima, Sexagesima, and Quinquagesima only by *Annual* and *Greater Solemn* Feasts. The remaining Sundays of the year (*dominicæ communes*) are superseded by *Greater Doubles*, and by festivals of our Lord and of our Lady of the rank of *Lesser Double*, but supersede all other *Lesser Doubles*.

[5] The office of Ash Wednesday, and of all the days of Holy Week, is not superseded, whatever festival occurs. The ferias of Advent, from December the 16th to the 23rd, and those of Lent from Ash Wednesday to Palm Sunday, have the same privilege of superseding festivals as have the *dominicæ communes*. The ferias of Advent up to December the 15th inclusive, January the 4th, Rogation Monday and Tuesday, Friday in the Octave of Ascension, and Ember Days, are superseded by festivals of the rank of *semi-double* and upwards.

[6] With the exception of the Octaves of Easter and Pentecost, which have but three psalms, as in the Roman offices.

wise that the Sunday and each feria has its own psalmody,[1] both for mattins and lauds, vespers, the little hours and compline. It is thus contrived that the psalter is recited in its entirety each week, while the psalms of any great length are cut up into *Divisiones*, each of which counts for a psalm.

The Parisian kalendar of 1736 is lightened of a great number of old saints' days, some of them being suppressed,[2] others reduced to a mere commemoration. To make up for this, a number of festivals of French saints were introduced. The general result is, that the Parisian kalendar multiplies commemorations, simples, and semi-doubles, in comparison with doubles; reduces the number of doubles, whether greater or lesser; and thus provides for the habitual recitation of the psalms of the feria occurrent.[3] This innovation (viz. the new distribution of the psalter) was accompanied in the Parisian breviary by an almost complete recasting of the antiphons, verses, and responds—(a mad undertaking!)—and by a revision, directed in this case by a more judicious criticism, of the historical and patristic lessons.

The success of the Parisian breviary of 1736 was all the greater, because people in general remained ignorant of the direction issued by Clement XII in regard to it. They were equally ignorant of the wishes entertained by Benedict XIV,

[1] To which must be added the psalms assigned to festivals of the proper of the season, of the proper of Saints and of the common of Saints.

[2] SS. Hyginus, pope; Marcellus, pope; Marius *et soc.*; Emerentiana, Timothy, Agnes secundo, Dorothy, Tiburtius *et soc.*; Anicetus, pope; Soter, pope *et soc.*; Vitalis, Apparition of S. Michael, Gordian and Epimachus, Nereus and Achilles, Boniface, Pudentiana, Urban, pope; Eleutherius, pope; John, pope; Felix, pope; Petronilla, Primus and Felicianus, Basilides *et soc.*; Vitus *et soc.*; Marius and Marcellianus, Silverius, pope; Leo II, pope; Pius, pope; Nabor and Felix, Anacletus, pope; Alexis, Symphorosa, Praxedis, Pantaleon, Nazarius *et soc.*; Felix, pope *et soc.*; Abdon and Sennen, S. Mary of the Snows, Donatus, Cyriac *et soc.*; Romanus, Tiburtius and Susanna, Agapitus, Felix and Adauctus, the twelve Brethren, Protus and Hyacinthus, Cornelius, pope; Euphemia *et soc.*; Linus, pope; Cyprian and Justina; Marcus, pope; Calixtus, pope; Chrysanthus and Daria, Evaristus, pope; the Four Crowned Martyrs, Theodore, Trypho *et soc.*; Mennas, Gregory the wonder-worker, Dedication of the basilicas of S. Peter and S. Paul, Pontianus, pope; Felicitas, Bibiana, Barbara, Sabas, Melchiades, pope. The festival of S. Peter's Chair at Antioch was united with that of his Chair at Rome: the feast of S. Michael became also that of All Angels. On the other hand the festival of S. Denis was made into two—Oct. the 3rd, S. Dionysius the Areopagite, Oct. the 9th, S. Denis, first Bishop of Paris.

[3] The Parisian breviary was twice issued in a revised form, once in 1822, by Cardinal Talleyrand Périgord, and again in 1836, by Mgr de Quelen (Schober, pp. 77-8). In the edition of 1836, a century after the *editio princeps*, I find in the kalendar 76 saints who have only a commemoration, 48 festivals of the rank of simples, 75 semi-doubles, 28 lesser doubles, 26 greater doubles. Omitting the commemorations, we have thus 177 saints' days which adopt the psalmody of the feria occurrent.

and the design which (in the first place, at all events) he had formed, of reducing the festivals of the saints to mere commemorations, in order to give privilege to the office of the season, and to reject all lessons not taken from Holy Scripture (unless it were to supplement these by the authentic writings of the "primitive Fathers") so as to place the breviary beyond the reach of all critical censure. They were ignorant of the fact that the consultators of the Pope were at work on a revision of the Roman breviary, in which, while refusing to alter anything in the Roman distribution of the psalter, they consented to a reduction both in the number of festivals and in their degree of rank, as well as to severe revision of the historical and patristic lessons. This movement on the part of Benedict XIV and his liturgists, if it had been known, would have exercised no slight influence on the fortunes of the Parisian reform of 1736.

In 1775, the printer Lottin, when publishing at Paris an edition of the Roman breviary, gives, in an *Avis sur les bréviaires*,[1] an explanation of the peculiar features of his edition (which are not without interest), and founds thereupon certain considerations on the means of attaining liturgical unity, in which we find the following: "During the forty years that the new Paris breviary has been in existence, it has been adopted by a large number of dioceses in succession, including some of metropolitan rank, so that it is literally true that there is not at the present day, after the *Roman* breviary, any that is more widely used in France, than that of Paris, either in its original form or with amendments".[2] Such is the liturgical situation less than twenty years after the death of Benedict XIV. Already, however, a new tendency manifests itself: would it not be possible to put out a single breviary for all France, which, in each province, would only vary as regards the proper of Saints? M. de Choiseul, Archbishop of Cambrai, had the idea of putting forth a breviary which might become

[1] *Avis sur les Bréviaires, et particulierement sur la nouvelle édition du Bréviaire romain. On y a joint des observations sur le profit d'un Bréviaire commun à tous les dioceses de France* (Paris, 1775, 12mo, 68 pages).

[2] *Ibid.* p. 59. The author considers that the breviary of Toulouse is a remarkable improvement on that of Paris: "In the psalter, short summaries are provided, which, placed at the head of each psalm, indicate its object, and fix attention upon it". This "improvement" is an instance of a tendency to annotate the text of the office with a view to forwarding its beneficial recitation. On p. 51 the author tells us that he has inserted explanatory notes in his edition of the Roman breviary—"some with the object of noticing certain variations . . . some for the purpose of explaining certain passages in the lessons".

that of the province of Cambrai, subject to the retention of the proper of Saints of the three dioceses of Cambrai, Arras, and Saint Omer, and the author of the "Avis," who tells us of this, adds: "There had been suggested to M. de Choiseul for the province of Cambrai a distribution of the psalms which would possibly be preferable to that of Paris, as being less arbitrary, and differing less from that used in the churches which follow the Roman use" (*ibid.* p. 62). Thus, one would set in order a psalter, a proper of the season, and a common of Saints, which would serve equally for all dioceses. With this would be joined a proper of Saints, which might serve at least for the whole of one province—containing, along with the Saints of the province, and those proper to each diocese in it, such festivals as are celebrated throughout the whole Church—"such as the feasts of our Lord, our Lady, the Holy Apostles, and the principal Martyrs, Pontiffs, Doctors, and other Saints who are everywhere honoured". Our author is nevertheless of opinion that no breviary would better lend itself to such a unification than the Roman, "for it would be beyond all doubt most advantageous for the whole Church of God to have but one and the same breviary, and such has long been the desire of the Sovereign Pontiffs". This appeal on behalf of liturgical unity is, at such a date (1775), very remarkable, and so is the *prestige* of which we find the Roman breviary still possessed. Our author writes: "The Roman psalter is among the best arranged: and that more particularly for this reason, that in it the distribution of the psalms, being simpler, is not so arbitrary. Its proper of the season has served as a model for the best breviaries." The liturgist of 1775 whom we are quoting is quite aware that difficulties are raised. Thus: "Complaint is made that the legends [of the Roman breviary] sometimes contain statements which are far from being certain": the reply to this is, that the legends pertain to the proper of Saints, that, by hypothesis, the proper would be drawn up province by province, and that each province would make in the legends of its own proper such reforms as seemed fitting. "Again," he continues, "complaint is made that in the Roman office the same psalms are repeated frequently, while there are others which are only said very rarely, so that it hardly ever happens that the whole psalter is recited in the course of one week. But a rubric or two would suffice to remove this difficulty. The Roman use allows of the saying of the ferial psalms in the mattins of simple feasts: it would only be necessary to

extend this to semi-doubles, which would then only have one nocturn and three lessons. By this arrangement, mattins of twelve psalms with three lessons would be no more burdensome than those of nine psalms with nine lessons and nine responds. . . . The ferial psalms and canticles of lauds, which, as it is, are never said on festivals, might be recited, not only on simples and semi-doubles, but on doubles, both greater and lesser; one would only make exception in favour of doubles of the first or second class, which alone would retain the psalms and the canticle of Sunday. The same course might be taken as regards vespers. The psalms would thus be far more varied, and the recitation of the entire psalter in the course of a week would frequently be effected, without having to change the distribution of the psalms." [1]

These remarks testify that, however great the success in France of the Parisian breviary of 1736, and however numerous the breviaries of particular dioceses imitated from it, the Roman breviary was not forgotten. There were those who recited it: and the differences between the various diocesan breviaries inspired regret for that unity which the use of the Roman office could alone one day restore, provided that certain practical amendments in it were carried out.

But while in France, in 1775, we detect this symptom of a return to the Roman use,[2] liturgical anarchy had won the day in Germany. As early as 1748, Treves provided itself with a breviary imitated from that of Paris: it was due to the coadjutor Bishop of Treves, J. N. de Houtheim, Febronius himself.[3] It was only suppressed in 1888. Cologne in its turn provided itself with a breviary of its own, in 1780, and Münster

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 64, 65. The author adds: "Complaint is made of the long psalmody of the first nocturn on Sundays, in which twelve psalms have to be said with three antiphons". He proposes to distribute the eighteen psalms of the three nocturns into sets of six psalms with three antiphons in each nocturn.

[2] We have, however, to record the publication, in 1787, of the reformed breviary of the Benedictines of the Congregation of S. Maur, which even went further than the Parisian. See in Bäumer, t. II. pp. 342-3, how much was made at Cologne, even as late as 1821, of this Maurist breviary, on the score of the excellence of its contents. Schober, p. 74. [I have given some account of this curious breviary in an article on *The Monastic Breviary* in "Pax," No. 15 (March, 1908), from information kindly supplied to me by Dom Baillet, of the Benedictines of Solesmes.—A. B.]

[3] Bäumer, t. II. p. 359, notes that from 1802 to 1816, under the French Bishop C. Mannay, the Paris breviary of 1736 was adopted by the Chapter of Treves. I do not believe that No. 39 of the "Articles Organiques" (April 8th, 1802)—"there shall be but one liturgy and one catechism for all the Catholic Churches of France"—has reference to a breviary, but merely to the ceremonies of public worship, whatever Bäumer may say. We find the same error in *Dom Guéranger, Abbé de Solesmes, par un moine bénédictin* [Dom Delatte] (Paris, 1909), t. I. p. 263.

in 1784. The two breviaries were eventually suppressed, the first in 1887, the second in 1880.[1] These imitations of the Parisian liturgy were the prelude in Germany to the crying down of all divine service in Latin to which the clergy became disposed, being under the influence of German *Aufklärung* and of Josephism.[2] On all sides, but especially in Wurtemburg and Baden, one hears of the abandonment of the recitation of the divine office by ecclesiastics, to such an extent even that a demand is made upon Pius VII from Germany to grant the German clergy a general dispensation from reciting any breviary whatever. Pius VII refused the request:[3] but it was quickly found that the Germans were prepared to do without any regular dispensation. Here is a question put by the government of Wurtemburg, in 1811, at the examinations for the filling up of parochial benefices: "Would it not, in these days, be advisable that the bishops should release from the obligation of reciting the canonical hours the clergy who are under their rule: and what would it be best to enjoin instead of the breviary, on the clergy, for whom prayer is an obligation?"[4] In fact, the ecclesiastics of Baden and Wurtemburg no longer recited the breviary. There is reason to believe that this laxity spread much more widely than this, when we see the Bishops of Prussia, the valley of the Rhine, Bavaria, Bohemia, Hungary and Austria, in the period preceding the upheaval of 1848, pressing this duty upon ecclesiastics, and their appeals finding an echo in the encyclical of Pius IX of November 9th, 1846.[5]

[1] Bäumer, t. II. pp. 338-46. In 1836, the Archbishop of Cologne, Clem. Aug. Droste de Vischerung, on his own authority, reduced mattins (except during the last three days of Holy Week) to one nocturn of three psalms and three lessons. Bäumer, t. II. p. 345. *Cf.* Schober, p. 73.

[2] So named from the Emperor Joseph II: the movement was also known as "Febronianism".

[3] Bâumer, t. II. p. 387.

[4] Schober, p. 76. Compare the views expressed by a minister of Baden, mentioned by Schober, *loc. cit.* (after Stolz). This minister complains that, in the seminary, clerks are practised in the recitation of the breviary—"monks' prayers"—which should find no place there. *Cf.* G. Goyau, *L'Allemagne religieuse: le Catholicisme*, 1800-48 (Paris, 1909), t. I. pp. 42-8.

[5] Bäumer, t. II. p. 369. In 1792, the ex-Carmelite Dereser, professor of divinity at Strasburg, published at Augsburg a *Deutsches Brevier*, not intended for use by ecclesiastics, but styling itself "a book for the edification of all good Christians". It was nevertheless adopted by many priests, and even by some bishops, to serve as a breviary and in preference to one in Latin. Schober, pp. 74-9. Bäumer, t. II. pp. 362-9. A book of like inspiration, but in Latin, had been published by the ex-Jesuit Stattler, *Liber psalmorum Christianus, seu Religio Christiana, in exercitium precum sub forma psalmorum reducta* (Augsburg, 1789). Schober, *ibid.* Bäumer, pp. 369-70, notices an attempt still more extravagant, an *abridgment* of the Roman breviary, *Breviarium Romanum pro*

Italy, or at all events Tuscany, had in 1786 the outrageous synod of Pistoia, which, being in the humour for reforming everything, was bound to meddle with the question of liturgy. This synod of Pistoia, in fact, determined on undertaking a reform of the breviary and the missal, for the use of the Church of Pistoia, "changing, correcting, and putting in better order all the divine offices" (*variando, corrigendo, e ponendo in migliore ordine i divini ufizi*): "Everyone knows," we read in the sixth session of this synod, "that God, who is truth itself, does not desire honour which is based on falsehood: and that persons of the greatest learning and sanctity, including Popes themselves in these latter times, have recognized in our breviary, especially in the Saints' day lessons, a large number of false statements, and have confessed the need for a more exact reform". The principal aim of the clergy of Pistoia, and of their bishop, Ricci, was to arrange the breviary so that, in the course of each year, the whole of Holy Scripture should be read through: it was to be not so much a book of prayer as a book to read out of. The breviary of Pistoia came out in 1787, and caused a scandal: but it did not survive the promulgation of the Bull *Auctorem fidei*, in which Pius VI condemned and annulled the synod of Pistoia.[1] But it would be a mistake to suppose that the idea of a reform of the breviary was, in Italy, confined to the Jansenist and Josephist clergy who made themselves heard at Pistoia: attention has been very properly drawn[2] to the ideas outlined, as early as 1770, by Gallicoli, the Venetian editor of the works of S. Gregory—ideas of a reform of the breviary inspired by the Parisian breviary of 1736.

Amidst all these various movements, Rome, faithful to the position finally assumed by Benedict XIV, abstained from making any innovation.[3]

ecclesiasticis et secularibus (Munich, 1815), published by a parish priest of the diocese of Salzburg named Moser.

[1] *Atti e decreti del concilio diocesano di Pistoia* (Pavia, 1789), p. 205 (Schober, p. 74, Bäumer t. II. p. 336). Cf. Bensath, art. "Ricci," in Hauck's *Real-encyklopaedie.*

[2] Bäumer, t. II. p. 337. Gallicoli, *Isagoge liturg.* in *Opp. S. Greg. Magn.* t. X. (Venice, 1770).

[3] See what was said by Albergotti, Bishop of Arezzo, *La Divina Salmodia* (Sienna, 1816), quoted by Bäumer, t. II. p. 402: Pius VII had formed a design of reforming the breviary, after his return from captivity, but "inerento alle massime del suo gran predecessore e maestro Benedetto XIV, ha creduto anch' esso per ora di sospendere qualunque riforma". Schober, p. 77, tells us that Szepesy, Bishop of Erdely (Transylvania), in Hungary, after the holding of a diocesan synod in 1822, undertook a correction of the breviary, but relinquished it in 1826, by order of the Holy See.

II.

Time, as it passed, worked in favour of Rome. The spirit of Gallicanism in France was not able to survive the fall of the legitimist monarchy, which stood alone in maintaining it, while, on the other side, romanticism helped to alienate popular preference from the forms which had been consecrated by the favour of the *ancien régime.* However strange and unexpected such a thing may appear, the Parisian breviary of 1736, and the other breviaries of the same type, found themselves, from 1830 onwards, opposed by romanticism as well as by ultramontanism.

The first French Bishop to decree the return to the Roman rite was Mgr. Parisis, Bishop of Langres, by an ordinance dated October 15th, 1839.[1] The Benedictine biographer of Dom Guéranger, who, in order to exalt the Abbot of Solesmes, insinuates that "Rome in her discouragement seemed to have given up the idea of liturgical unity,"[2] tells us that this act on the part of Mgr. Parisis, quite capable of explanation by local circumstances of a practical character, seemed a bold step: "the best of his colleagues [in the episcopate] more timid than he, felt disquieted, and asked themselves how Rome was likely to view this action of a single bishop, who ventured to impose on his diocese the liturgy of S. Pius V".[3] Strange words! A very little more, and we should be given to understand that it was fortunate that the Abbot of Solesmes was there, to give courage to the best bishops (timid men), and even to the Pope himself! It is an exaggeration, such as may also be found here and there in the work of Dom Guéranger himself, which is of a militant type: a fact which explains why the author of the *Institutions liturgiques* more often alarmed or wounded his contemporaries than evoked their sympathy.[4] Let us be more

[1] L. Marcel, *Les livres liturgiques du diocèse de Langres* (Paris, 1892), pp. 253-9.

[2] Delatte, t. I. p. 263.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 264. In reality the delimitation of dioceses prescribed by the *Concordat* of 1801 had the effect, in the case of some newly formed or newly arranged dioceses, of causing an inextricable liturgical confusion. The diocese of Langres had to deal with five different liturgies (Marcel, p. 293).

[4] See (*ibid.* p. 267) the judgment passed by the bishop of Le Mans, Mgr. Bouvier, on the first volume of the *Institutions:* " . . . extraordinary talents. But always the same pretensions, the same self-sufficiency, and that spirit of presumption that characterizes the *Mennaisien* (disciple of La Mennais). He attacks our customs, impugns the method of instruction in our seminaries; he alters facts, misstates, exaggerates, for the purpose of attaining his object, viz. to bring into disrepute the whole body of the episcopate." At Rome also, Solesmes was suspected of being a focus of "Mennaisianism" (*ibid.* p. 188).

just: the *Institutions liturgiques* had the incomparable merit of being able to recall people's minds to liturgical antiquity—the Roman liturgical tradition—and of presenting a literary history of it, immature, no doubt, but at that time quite a novelty; and moreover of giving for the first time a general view of those French liturgies of the last two centuries which had seduced our forefathers, imbued with the spirit of classicism, and less sensible than we are of the historic value of things. It is impossible to be too grateful to the Abbot of Solesmes for having made so large a contribution to the revival of Christian art which we owe to the Catholics of the "Romantic" school—to Montalembert above all.

The first volume of the *Institutions* appeared in 1840, the second in 1842; Cardinal Lambruschini, Secretary of State to Gregory XVI, had accepted the dedication of the work.[1] It is the second volume which contains the history of liturgy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: and in it the Abbot of Solesmes speaks with much warmth of "heresy" and of "revolution" as being the causes to which we owe breviaries such as that of M. de Vintimille, which he would like to characterize as *Satanic*, the term applied by Joseph de Maistre to the French Revolution. A few phrases will suffice to give an idea of the manner in which Dom Guéranger expresses himself in regard to the Gallican liturgists: "Here are men who wish to persuade the Catholic Church, in one of her greatest and most illustrious provinces, that she lacks a liturgy suited to her wants, and that she has not so good a knowledge of that which relates to prayer as have certain doctors of the Sorbonne.[2] . . . These presumptuous men set themselves to draw out a new plan for the offices of prayer—new as regards the materials of which it is to be composed, new both as to its general lines and particular features. . . . We will be bold to say that, when the Churches of France have returned to the path of unity, of universality (?), of authority, as regards liturgical matters . . . it will be hard to account for the motives which could have brought about such a revolution within the bosom of a Christian nation. . . . But when, fully informed as to what actually happened, the faithful perceive that no con-

[1] Guéranger had passed part of the year 1837 at Rome, in order to obtain the Papal approbation of his congregation of Benedictines. His wish had been to name them "The Congregation of Saint Maur," but Rome forbade him to revive this title, on the ground that the old "Maurists," before their extinction, had "equally lost all soundness both of learning and of faith" (*ibid.* p. 189).

[2] Compare the letter of Benedict XIV quoted above, p. 263 note 1.

straint whatever was employed to produce so strange a result —that on the contrary, on all sides (?), the recasting of the liturgy on a plan which was novel and altogether of mere human device (?), was voted (?) as it were by acclamation—and that this work was entrusted to the hands of heretics (?)—then they will wonder at the mercy of God shown "towards the Church of France".[1] One perceives the exaggeration, and that a polemic carried on in this manner overshoots its mark: for if, in fact, the step taken at Paris in 1736 amounted to a heresy, how is it that Rome, as late as 1840, had not denounced it? And if, on the other hand, there was a gulf between the liturgical reforms carried out in so many dioceses of France and Germany, and that undertaken by the Bishop of Pistoia, and forthwith condemned—is not the confounding of the two together, which the Abbot of Solesmes labours to effect, an act of injustice?[2]

The cause championed by Dom Guéranger was too well founded on tradition to be liable to be compromised by his unmeasured strictures, but there were rejoinders.[3] Of these the most considerable was that of the Archbishop of Toulouse, Mgr. d'Astros: *L'église de France injustement flétrie dans un ouvrage ayant pour titre, "Institutions liturgiques"* (1843). It is nothing to the point to say that this pamphlet was really written by his Vicar-General:[4] it was signed by the Archbishop (who died a cardinal in 1891), and he was the prelate who was the most respected of all the French episcopate as a Confessor for the Faith in the evil days of the First Empire, and, later, on account of the censure pronounced by him on the propositions "de M. de Lamennais et de ses disciples" (1835). In the eyes of the clergy of France, said Dom Pitra, "Mgr.

[1] *Institutions liturgiques*, t. II. (2nd edition), pp. 225-7; quoted by Delatte t. II., p. 306.

[2] In a certain page of the *Institutions* (t. II. p. 637; quoted by Delatte, p. 310) Dom Guéranger speaks, however, of the return to liturgical unity and tradition as of a sort of learned and even eclectic restoration, in which a place might be found for "some points borrowed with taste and moderation from the later developments of French liturgy: so that certain features which are happy (even if there are but few of them), borrowed from that part of the modern work which was not soiled by the hands of sectaries, might not altogether perish; and that the two last centuries, *to which indeed it was not just to sacrifice the whole ecclesiastical tradition*, might nevertheless not be entirely deprived of the honour of having contributed *something* to the unceasing and ever-growing development of the Church's offices of prayer. Thus regenerated, the liturgy of our Churches would be the delight of the clergy, and the joy of the faithful."

[3] See J. F. Bergier, *Histoire de la controverse et de la reforme liturgique en France* (Besançon, 1861), and Marcel, *op. cit.* pp. 291-320.

[4] M. Baillés, afterwards Bishop of Luçon (Delatte, t. I. p. 331).

d'Astros having spoken, there was an end of the matter".[1] The Archbishop of Paris, Mgr. Affre, supported his brother of Toulouse in a circular letter addressed to the curés of his diocese, on the *Institutions liturgiques* of the Reverend Father Abbot of Solesmes (August, 1843). Dom Guéranger replied to the Archbishop of Toulouse in a "Defence of the *Institutions liturgiques*" (January, 1845). The Bishop of Orleans, Mgr. Fayet, took part in the controversy by issuing an *Examen des "Institutions liturgiques"* (December, 1845). The Bishop of Langres, Mgr. Parisis, then intervened in this dealing out of blows from croziers, in a pamphlet entitled *De la question liturgique* (January, 1846), in which he endeavoured to keep the question of principles clear of the personal question, as he himself informed Dom Guéranger while apologizing for having avoided at all costs any suspicion of being a defender of his.[2] To such a pitch had tempers risen! Mgr. Parisis deserved to have the last word, but Dom Guéranger did not allow him. He replied to Mgr. Fayet by a *Nouvelle défense des "Institutions liturgiques"* (1846). Mgr. d'Astros published an *Examen de la "défense" de Dom Guéranger* (1846).

To the whole of this irritating controversy we may apply the judgment passed by the Abbot of Solesmes on its earliest outburst.[3] "It is quite one of the prettiest messes that the devil has ever made." (Was it, however, truly or solely the devil?)

The example first set by Mgr. Parisis in 1839, by restoring with discretion the Roman liturgy at Langres, was followed by other bishops individually—without giving provocation or making a stir[4]—at Strasburg in 1843, at Perigueux in 1844, at Gap in 1845, at Quimper in 1846, at Troyes in 1847, at Rheims and at Saint Brieuc in 1848. The French Government having authorized the holding of provincial councils, the council of the province of Rheims voted, in 1849, the return to the Roman use. The council of the province of Bordeaux did the same in the year following.[5] By 1856, some forty dioceses of France may be counted as having adopted the Roman use.[6] The council of the province of Paris, in 1849, did not,

[1] Letter from Dom Pitra to Dom Guéranger, Aug. 22nd, 1843 (Delatte, t. I. p. 333).
[2] Letter from Mgr. Parisis to Dom Guéranger, Feb. 4th, 1846 (Delatte, t. I. p. 392).
[3] Letter from Dom Guéranger to Dom Pitra, Aug. 1st, 1843 (Delatte, t. I. p. 334).
[4] Bergier, p. 108 *et seqq.* [5] Delatte, t. II. pp. 4 and 21. [6] *Ibid.* p. 118.

indeed, vote for such a course: but it respectfully expressed its desire that Rome should take in hand such a correction of the Roman breviary as would facilitate its adoption. The bishops of the province wrote to the Pope as follows: "We applaud the tendency everywhere manifested towards the adoption of the Roman liturgy. If obstacles hitherto insurmountable prevent us from joining in it, we are agreed in resolving to endeavour to remove them if possible. . . . But we will venture to point out to your Holiness that the defenders of the new liturgies would forfeit all plausible motive, if, in accordance with the intention to which expression has been many times given by the Holy See, a new revision of the Roman breviary were to be undertaken. We are of opinion that the return to a common liturgy would then become much more easy, and might be much sooner effected." [1]

Under the circumstances in which the return to the Roman liturgy was carried out in France,[2] would it have been opportune for the Holy See to promise a revision or a correction of the breviary? Such does not seem to have been the conclusion arrived at in the counsels of the Holy See. Father Schober, writing in 1892, has some vague knowledge of a Commission nominated by Pius IX in 1860, for the amendment of the missal and the breviary, which decided, so far as the latter was concerned, that there was no need for its revision, *quod nulla novae recognitionis necessitas existeret*.[3] Father Schober, usually so precise, does not tell us from what source he derived his information: it may have been mere hearsay. As far back as 1854, in fact, the Archbishop of Paris, Mgr. Sibour, being at Rome on the occasion of the proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, expressed to Pius IX his wish that the Roman breviary might be amended, in order that it might be the more easily adopted at Paris. Pius IX replied, "that such a reform of the breviary he had greatly at heart, and that, without having waited for any invitation, he

[1] Bergier, p. 168.

[2] Delatte (t. I. p. 399), who in other passages shows himself critical as to the position taken up by the council of the province of Paris, expresses regret, in his own name as well as in that of Dom Guéranger, at this return having been unconditional: they would have preferred a liturgy, not purely Roman, but "*Romaine-Française*". Dom Delatte goes so far as to say that the movement of return was a kind of revolution: "Once set in motion, the liturgical revolution did not attend, any more than a great many other revolutions, to wise counsels . . . to that spirit of moderation and discretion which, according to him [Guéranger], ought to have directed this return towards antiquity".

[3] Schober, p. 78.

had, only a few days before this interview, given orders for the MS. records of the Commission appointed by Benedict XIV for the reform of the Roman breviary to be laid before him."[1]

A Commission having been nominated by Pius IX "to study the work carried out by Benedict XIV with a view to the reform of the breviary, the Abbot of Solesmes took part in it. . . . Benedict XIV had already discarded the idea of recasting the breviary"—(this assertion is not accurate)—"On receiving the report made to him by the Commission which he had appointed, Pius IX took the same course as Benedict XIV": and Dom Guéranger's biographer adds: "We think that we are in a position to affirm that the same project when revived later on during the pontificate of Pius IX, did not meet with any greater favour".[2] This last assertion is not calculated to inspire much confidence in the trustworthiness of those which precede it, and which are unsupported by any documentary authority. This fact remains—that Rome deferred the consideration of any kind of revision of the breviary.

This then was the state of affairs when the Vatican council was opened. Father Schober has searched among the whole mass of propositions submitted to the Council, for those relating to the Roman breviary, and he has found as many as six of them. The Bishop of Vicenza, Farina, asked for the suppression of the transference of saints' days, when any festival is ousted by the occurrence of one of higher rank, and the substitution of mere commemoration of the inferior festival. All liturgists, we might say, were agreed in desiring this, and the Holy See has now at last so decreed. Father Ricca, General of the Friars Minims, wished for a fantastic reform: viz. that, throughout the whole Church—at all events the whole of the Latin Church—the office should be the same for all the clergy, regulars included, and that all privileges to the contrary should be revoked; the proper of any diocese, or of any religious order, was not to allow to the Saints peculiar to itself anything more than the ninth lesson at mattins, and a commemoration. The Bishop of Pistoia, in the name of certain bishops of central Italy, asked for a revision of the breviary which should correct statements condemned by historical criticism; for more appropriate patristic homilies on certain festivals; and, above all, for such a redistribution of

[1] Delatte, t. II. p. 119. Piacenza, p. 5, knows of nothing beyond the Commission appointed in 1856, but he does not tell us the source of his information.

[2] Delatte, t. II. p. 125.

the psalter as should secure its being recited in its integrity at least several times in each year, whereas, as things were, most of the psalms came in for their turn of recitation very seldom, and some, it might be said, never. Twelve archbishops or bishops of Canada asked that, as far as should be found practicable, the whole psalter should be recited every week; and that the office should be made shorter on those days when curés and confessors are detained for a longer time over the work of their pastoral ministrations, such as the eves of the great festivals, and the Saturdays and Sundays of Advent and Lent. There was also a request on the part of some German bishops: they did not ask for any shortening of the office on days when the clergy are specially busy over pastoral ministrations; for in Germany, said they, "people are aware that moral theology provides for such cases, and that clergy thus over-burdened can be dispensed, in whole or in part, from the recitation of the breviary".[1] But these German bishops remarked that the Roman breviary contains statements contrary to true history or to sound exegesis, and they asked that all such passages should be carefully revised. Lastly, we have the desires expressed by some of the bishops of France. They declare that a reform of the breviary is opportune: (1) as to some of its lessons which have not been sufficiently purged from apocryphal historical statements; (2) as to its hymns, which are in some instances written in a style which is obscure or even barbarous; (3) as to the distribution of the psalms, which should provide for greater variety; (4) as to the transference of Saints' days, which are too frequent, and sometimes involve the removal of festivals to a date too far distant; (5) as to the selection of saints honoured with the observance of a festival, too many of whom are proper to Rome, and very little known elsewhere; (6) as to the length of the offices, which in many cases, especially on Sundays and ferias, seems to be inordinate, and ill suited to the present condition of the secular clergy, who are not so numerous as in former times, and consequently more busy.[2]

[1] Bäumer, t. II. p. 405.

[2] Schober, pp. 78-80; Bäumer, t. II. pp. 404-8. Schober quotes the text of these *postulata* from Martin: *Omnium concilii Vaticani quae ad doctrinam et disciplinam pertinent documentorum collectio*, ed. 2 (Paderborn, 1873), pp. 165, 178, 188, 190, 195, 209. Bäumer quotes them from the *Collectio Tacensis*, t. VII. The following is the text of the demand of the French bishops: "Opportune reformaretur breviarium: praesertim quoad lectiones, ab historiis apocryphis non satis expurgatas; quoad aliquos hymnos, stilo obscuro et prope barbaro compositos; quoad psalmorum distributionem, quae magis variari deberet; quoad

The French bishops, like those of Canada, have an eye to the needs of overworked curés and confessors; while, with the German bishops, they denounce the historical errors in the breviary. When we hear them complain of the lack of variety in the psalms recited in the Roman office, we guess at their preference for the Parisian distribution of the psalter. It is true, their girding at the ancient hymns betrays a somewhat superficial degree of culture, and their chauvinism in regard to the selection of saints for the kalendar may provoke a smile. These French bishops—Mgr. Darboy, Mgr. Dupanloup, and others—were members of the minority in the Council who were opposed to the definition of the Papal infallibility.

None of these *postulata* were considered by the Vatican Council. Nothing bearing upon them is to be remarked, except one sentence in the *schema* of a constitution *De vita et honestate clericorum*, in which the council reminds all the clergy, to whatever rite or whatever nation they may belong, including those who do not hold any benefice—that they are bound to the daily recitation of the divine office, under pain of committing a grave sin.[1] Not a word is said of any amendment to be made in the Roman text of that office.

Leo XIII, who did so much for the spread of Catholicism, and for the *prestige* of the papacy in the social and political spheres, does not appear to have had much taste for matters relating to liturgy. But we may record that, in 1879, he raised to the rank of double of the second class the festivals of S. Joachim (his own Christian name was Joachim), and S. Anne. In 1880, he extended to the whole Church the observance of the feast of SS. Cyril and Methodius, the Apostles of the Slavonic peoples. He also established the festivals of S. Cyril of Jerusalem, S. Cyril of Alexandria, S. Augustine of Canterbury, and S. Josaphat, Bishop of Polocza.[2] One perceives, in the institution of these festivals, some indication of the leading doctrinal bias of his pontificate, and also of his

frequentes nimis nimiumque dilatas translationes Sanctorum; quoad ipsum delectum Sanctorum, quorum multi Romae proprii sunt et extra Romam parum noti; quoad mensuram officiorum, quae saepe, in Dominicis praesertim et feriis, longiora videntur et statui praesenti cleri saecularis, multo minus quam olim numerosi, proindeque magis occupati, non satis accommodata".

[1] Bäumer, t. II. p. 408 (quoting from the *Collectio Tacensis*, t. VII. p. 660): "Clerici cujusvis ritus et nationis, beneficiati vel sacris initiati ordinibus, quamvis nullum beneficium fuerint assecuti, meminerint se ad divinum officium integrum cotidie, sive in ecclesia sive privatim, recitandum, sub gravis culpae reatu teneri".

[2] "Praeclarum Polonae ac Ruthenae gentis lumen."

efforts for uniting with the Church the nations separated from her.[1] In 1888, he gave the feast of the rosary a proper office, with hymns taken from the Dominican breviary and written by the Dominican Ricchini, a contemporary and friend of Benedict XIV.[2] In 1881, he had revised the lessons in the second nocturn of the office of S. Thomas Aquinas. This was an echo of the encyclicals dear to Leo XIII, and their liturgical canonization.[3] His decree of July 28th, 1882, is in some degree a response to a wish expressed at the Vatican council, since it ordains that henceforth festivals of the rank of semi-double or lesser double shall no longer be transferred (Leo XIII makes an exception in favour of the feasts of doctors only) when ousted from their own day by the occurrence of a festival of higher rank, or a privileged Sunday or feria.[4] But this suppression of the transference of festivals has not for its object the setting free of the dominical or ferial office, but to secure room for new festivals of saints. Leo XIII says so expressly: "quo in utroque kalendario, tum universali tum cleri Romani, habeantur sedes liberae ad nova officia introducenda".[5]

Leo XIII and his liturgists, at the head of whom was Cardinal Bartolini, were so little prepossessed in favour of the ferial office that, by a decree of July 5th, 1883, the Pope conceded votive offices for each day of the week—for Monday, of the Holy Angels; Tuesday, of the Holy Apostles; Wednesday, of St. Joseph; Thursday, of the Blessed Sacrament; Friday, of the Passion; Saturday, of the Immaculate Conception—offices with the rank of semi-doubles, with nine lessons, to be substituted by anyone *ad libitum* for the office of the feria occurrent, whenever the office is of the feria, but not on Ash Wednesday, the ferias of Passion-tide, or those of Advent from December 17th to 24th. The concession of these

[1] In the decree *Nullo unquam tempore*, mentioned below, Leo XIII informs us that Pius IX, in response to the wish expressed by some bishops at the Vatican Council, had in 1874 nominated a Commission of the Congregation of Rites with a view to considering the insertion in the kalendar of Saints who had laboured to the edification of the Church universal, or had been the Apostles of particular nations—SS. Boniface, Justin, Cyril and Methodius, Cyril of Alexandria, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Augustine of Canterbury. The Commission accepted S. Boniface, as a double, and S. Justin as a semi-double, and deferred the consideration of the others.

[2] Bäumer, t. II. p. 417.

[3] [See the Encyclical *Aeterni Patris*, of Aug. 4th, 1879.—A. B.]

[4] See the decree *Nullo unquam tempore*, printed by Schober, pp. 80-82.

[5] For the whole number of the saints' days introduced so profusely by Leo XIII, see Bäumer, t. II. pp. 413-18.

votive offices came in very inopportunely, encouraging the already existing prejudice against the ferial office, and increasing the weariness[1] in regard to matters liturgical experienced by the common run of ecclesiastics.

All of us have recited these votive offices, for lack of the leisure needed for the recitation of the ferial office, but I know of some prelates as much over-worked as any man in the world, who have never availed themselves of this indult. The saintly Cardinal Richard, Archbishop of Paris, a man possessed of a sound sense of liturgy, told me one day that such was the case with him.[2]

The decision of Leo XIII in 1885, to publish an *Editio typica* of the Roman breviary, was scarcely more happy. The Vatican edition of 1632 was, up to this time, the last edition officially published by the Holy See, which printers were under obligation to follow faithfully when reprinting the breviary. But since 1632 many new offices, many new rubrics had been added. By a decree of April 26th, 1834, Roman printers were required to submit their new editions to the revision of the Congregation of Rites, and thus the Roman editions were made the authentic editions. In 1885, Cardinal Bartolini caused this privilege to be attached to the edition published at Ratisbon by Pustet: issued under the control of the Congregation of Rites, it was to be considered as giving an authoritative version of the rubrics and as presenting definitely the "Vulgate" of the offices. To Pustet's edition was prefixed the following statement: "Haec Breviarii Romani editio, accurate revisa, et ad normam novarum rubricarum plane redacta, pro futuris editionibus uti typica habenda est. Ex secretaria S.R.C., hac die 13 Aprilis, 1885. Laurentius Salvati, S.R.C. Secretarius."[3] Father George Schober, a Redemptorist of Ratisbon, has, in his *Explanatio critica*, set forth with extreme accuracy every particular (punctuation included) in which this *Editio typica*, as settled by the Congregation of Rites, differs from preceding editions. It would have been a good opportunity for carrying out, not merely a revision of the grammar and orthography of the breviary, but

[1] [*Acedia*, "accidie," to quote the late Bishop Paget of Oxford.—A. B.]

[2] Piacenza, p. 22, records the opinion of Cardinal Parocchi, a member of the Congregation of Rites, who considered these votive offices entirely contrary to the tradition and desire of the Church. He maintained that they were only conceded because a correction of the rubrics of the breviary was at hand; he said this in 1883.

[3] Schober, pp. 88, 89.

a critical correction of its text; but the congregation were not commissioned to make such a correction, and had to confine themselves to the corrections set forth in the decree of July 2nd, 1883, which they accordingly did.[1]

There followed (Dec. 11th, 1897), *Additiones et Variationes*, published by the Congregation of Rites,[2] which together with the new offices introduced since 1885, proved that Pustet's edition was only provisionally the *Editio typica*.

Meanwhile the great Pope, though growing old, worked assiduously at the tasks demanded by the conditions of his time. As long ago as 1888, when publishing new regulations for the Vatican library, he said, in explaining their object—"we were especially anxious to introduce such a reform as might conduce to the honour of the Church, and promote the progress of true science. We were aware what a passion the men of our time have for historical research." And even in 1883, in a memorable letter to the Cardinals Pitra, di Luca, and Herzenröther, on the study of history, Leo XIII, when mentioning the fact that he had thrown open the Vatican archives, spoke of the duty and the advantage of going back to the original sources of information, and of "studying authentic historical documents with a calm eye, and a mind free from prejudice".[3]

In 1902, the last year of his glorious pontificate, at about the same time as his institution of the *Commissione pontificia per gli studi biblici*, Leo XIII attached to the Congregation of Rites a *Commissione storico-liturgica*, whose mission was to propose such critical corrections as were required in the breviary. He placed on this Commission historians, then resident at Rome, who enjoyed the confidence of all Europe, such as Mgr. Duchesne, and Father Ehrle, S.J.[4] Mgr. Duchesne

[1] See Schober, p. 189 (legend of Pope Marcellus, p. 219 (Pope Silverius), p. 228 (Pope Pius I), p. 134 (Pope Sylvester), p. 243 (the Martyrs Protus and Hyacinthus), p. 206 (Popes Cletus and Marcellinus). This last correction has most character about it; for down to this time the breviary, on the faith of an apocryphal council of Sinuessa, had accused Pope Marcellinus of sacrificing to idols. Some correction was made in the lessons for the feast of S. Sylvester, but the legend of the baptism of Constantine was retained, merely adding: "uti vetus Ecclesiae Romanae refert traditio". Bäumer himself (t. II. p. 416), considers that this was too small a correction. But Cardinal Bartolini's criticism was of a character not too exacting, as we may gather from such historical works as were published by him.

[2] The text of these is given in Bäumer, t. II. pp. 461-83.

[3] See Paul Fabre, in *Le Vatican, les papes, et la civilisation* (Paris, 1895), pp. 736-43.

[4] And with them Father Roberti, Friar Minim; Mgr. Mercati, whose works on patristic and liturgical criticism (only too few in number) have been so highly

was made president of the Commission, which, like the Biblical Commission, was to have correspondents residing elsewhere, so as to associate with the work at Rome the scientific knowledge of every country.[1]

But the days of Leo XIII were at an end. The names of these foreign consultators were never published, and with the accession of Pius X matters took a completely new turn.[2]

III

From the first days of his pontificate, Pius X manifested a keen interest in the Gregorian chant: we see this in his *Motu proprio* of November 22nd, 1903, on sacred music. On that oc-

appreciated; Mgr. Wilpert, the well-known archæologian, who continued the work of De Rossi, and lastly Mgr. Umberto Benigni, who was at that time engaged on ecclesiastical history.

[1] Among these was A. Grospellier, who was at first one of the Canons Regular under Dom Gréa, at Saint-Claude, and afterwards Professor at the *grand-séminaire* of Grénoble, and was summoned to Rome in 1907 with the title of Consultator of the Congregation of Rites, and member of the Commission for the consideration of ecclesiastical music and the sacred chant. He was born in the Diocese of Saint-Claude in 1856, and died at Rome, July 14th, 1908. There has been published a treatise written by him, "at the desire of a Prince of the Church," in 1902. It is entitled: *De l'état actuel des livres liturgiques et de leur revision* (Rome, 1911). At Grénoble he was entrusted with the recasting of the proper of the diocese, which he carried out. It is a notable piece of work. Dom Grospellier was a well-read liturgist, and possessed of sound taste on that subject. He often worked in concert with the learned Canon Ulysse Chévalier.

[2] The *Commissione storico-liturgica*, nominated by Leo XIII in 1902, and attached to the Congregation of Rites, had received mission from that Pope to draw up a scheme for the correction of the Roman breviary. I believe I have ascertained that it actually set to work, and having elected Mgr. Duchesne as its president, met at his house for regular sessions during the years 1902-1904. The minutes of its transactions at these sessions were drawn up by Mgr. Mercati. The Commission based its work on that of the Commission of Benedict XIV: but, taking note of the causes of its final failure, it resolved on making a new distribution of the psalter. It borrowed from the Ambrosian rite the rule of reciting the entire psalter in the course of each *fortnight*, and at the same time decided on dividing the longest psalms into portions. This borrowing from the Ambrosian rite had the advantage of avoiding the scruple felt by the consultators of Benedict XIV, who felt themselves bound not to borrow anything from the Parisian breviary of 1736. By this new distribution they shortened the dominical and ferial offices, and they also provided for their being in future recited as frequently as possible. This was attained by means of a revision of the kalendar, from which they removed all the festivals which they considered would be more fittingly observed *locally*, in the proper of the diocese, or of the religious order with which they were connected. Lastly, they reformed the lectionary, by removing from it all the historical lessons of the *Sanctorale*, just as Benedict XIV had thought of doing, in order to obviate all critical objections. Such were the main lines of the scheme drawn up by the Commission. They made a report of it to Pope Pius X, who, when thanking the members of the Commission for their work, requested them to suspend their labours, as the Holy See did not consider the time opportune for reforming the breviary. Let us hope that Mgr. Mercati will imitate the example of Valenti, and not allow the minutes of the Commission presided over by Mgr. Duchesne to be lost to history.

casion, since it was not feasible to re-establish the correct chant in universal use without putting forth an official edition of it, Pius X attached to the Congregation of Rites a *Commissione per la musica e il canto sacro*, at the head of which he placed Dom Pothier, with a view to reforming and publishing the church books of plain-chant. The Commission first took in hand the plain-chant of the Mass. They soon discovered that it would not be possible to get very far unless some correction of the missal and the breviary were made. Such a thing was still only being spoken of as possible when, on December 21st, 1911, the *Osservatore Romano* published, unexpectedly, the Bull *Divino afflatu*, promulgating a reform of the breviary.

The old proverb, that "all roads lead to Rome," was here verified. By ways, some of them direct, others circuitous, the idea of a correction of the Roman breviary travelled on and on: and, at the very moment when to some among us it seemed to be completely out of favour, it secured the support of Pope Pius X. I flatter myself that I predicted it, when, in the "Conclusion" of the third edition of this "History of the Roman Breviary," I wrote: "The weak point about the work of the Roman correctors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was their want of acquaintance with the ancient and purely Roman office, which hindered them from drawing the text of the divine office from its true source. And so the reform of the Roman breviary would consist . . . in a restoration, prudent and well thought-out, of the ancient tenor and spirit of the Roman office, through a more and more rigorous and accurate investigation of its sources, and remembering always that such a restoration is an ideal, to which only an approximation is practicable.[1] The restoration to its ancient purity of the Gregorian chant, which we see going on at this moment, is just such an example as may well confirm us in our aspirations." The restoration of the Gregorian chant has indeed brought on the correction of the divine office. Historians on the one hand, restorers of the plain-chant on the other, we have found ourselves all agreed in asserting the primacy, as one may say, of the office of the season. It is like the main body of the Church, primitive in date, incomparable as regards

[1] Grospellier, p. 4: "Il y a donc intéret à mettre en lumière les principes qui ont présidé à la composition de l'office, et les règles traditionnelles de la redaction liturgique, pour examiner en quoi les nouveaux textes ont pu s'en écarter, et montrer en quoi une révision pourrait être utile".

the beauty of its lines, and the purity of its materials: the main body of a basilica, in which the *Sanctorale* holds the place of side chapels, adventitious, disproportionate, and multiplied to such a degree as to obscure the original plan and destroy its order. This conception, in accordance with which the *Sanctorale* is historically subordinate to the *Temporale*, is the leading idea in my "History of the Roman Breviary".

But how was the office of the season to be restored to its place of honour without sacrificing the *cultus* which had become the inheritance of the saints? Pius V had reduced, in number, and in their respective rank, the festivals of the *Sanctorale;* Benedict XIV's liturgists proposed a still more radical reduction: but, in the Church, the tendency to multiply the festivals of saints will always be found to exert more power, and to command more sympathy, than any plans for reducing them. However, the most distinguished liturgists have at all events always denounced the abuse of the *transference* of feasts: and the decree of Leo XIII in 1882 justified these liturgists by forbidding the transference of semi-doubles and lesser doubles, and reducing such festivals, in case of the occurrence of a superior festival, to a simple commemoration. Dom Grospellier, in 1902, thought it desirable that this prohibition should be extended to the festivals of doctors, which have become more numerous than they were, and which, in the decree of Leo XIII, retained their right to be transferred. Dom Grospellier also proposed that the same prohibition should be extended to greater doubles: "the right of transference," he writes, "would then be the peculiar privilege of doubles of the first and second class: and besides this, it would be better still if such feasts were transferred—not to the first vacant day, which is sometimes very far distant—but to the first day not occupied by a festival of equal or higher rank."[1] The same liturgist observes that certain modern festivals, wherein are celebrated this or that mystery of the life of our Saviour or the Blessed Virgin, are but useless repetitions of what is contained in the office of the season, the true significance of which has little by little been lost sight of: "Thus, for example, the double Mystery of the Virginity and of the Maternity of Mary is expressed in a manner most beautifully poetical, and full of

[1] Grospellier, p. 60. The Bull *Divino afflatu* realized this wish expressed by Dom Grospellier. He also desired the suppression of "perpetual transference," i.e. the assigning to a festival of a day other than that indicated for it in the Martyrology.

the symbolism dear to the Christian epoch when it was written, in the office of the octave of Christmas, that is to say of the festival which we now call the Circumcision of our Lord. In the feasts for the Sundays in October, conceded to many dioceses, we find similar repetitions.[1] It would be easy to multiply examples of the same kind."[2] But the suppression of transferences and of duplicate feasts would not go very far towards reducing the number of festivals of saints; and Dom Grospellier suggests that the most efficacious means of compressing the *Sanctorale* within more moderate limits would be "to reduce to the rank of simple feasts the greater number of those which are now semi-doubles and lesser doubles".[3]

Let us examine more at large these propositions of Dom Grospellier: they form an anticipatory commentary on the reform of 1911, which they foreshadowed, even if they did not inspire—and did indeed, as I conjecture, directly inspire. I will quote a few passages from this learned and discerning French liturgist:—

"The backbone of the divine office (thus he writes, be it remembered, in 1902) is to be found in the psalter. Its distribution in the breviary indicates clearly the intention of the Church, from very early times, that it should be recited in its entirety during the week.[4] And if Holy Church has thus treated the book of Psalms, it is because it perceives in it an inexhaustible mine of devotion for her clergy. Nothing, in fact, can be more varied than the several pieces of which it is composed; nothing can correspond better to the ever-varying needs of the soul, or is more suited to nourish therein true and solid piety. Hence it is from the psalter that the Church has borrowed the greater number of the liturgical forms which are sung, whether in the divine office or in the mass.

[1] These October feasts are suppressed by the Bull *Divino afflatu*, which ordains that the lesser Sundays are not to be intruded upon by festivals even of the rank of greater double, with the exception of the feasts of our Lord.

[2] Grospellier, p. 9. The same is the case with certain festivals of saints: the two feasts of S. Peter's Chair, this and that feast devoted to the Holy Angels, might be united.

[3] Grospellier, p. 8. He adds in a note: "It would evidently in that case become necessary not to allow the saying of Mass of Requiem on all simple feasts". The Bull *Divino afflatu* takes the course here indicated, after having "quasi simplifié" the doubles and semi-doubles.

[4] This assertion is true of the *Roman* Church; it would not be true to history to extend the generalization further, and give to Dom Grospellier's proposition a preciseness which I do not think it possesses. The recitation of the whole psalter once in every week is a custom attested for the first time by the Rule of S. Benedict.

"But at the present day, instead of this going over the whole psalter every week, the same little group comes over and over again, almost daily, at mattins, at lauds, and at vespers. The reason for this is to be found in the ever-increasing multiplication of double feasts—double feasts which have identically the same psalmody.[1] This state of things, so different from that which existed with regard to the psalter originally,[2] is continually becoming more grave. Let us not then be astonished if it has called forth, for a long time past, and at frequent intervals, the expression of a desire for reform. Everyone wishes for a return to a more varied and more complete recitation of the psalter, for the almost continual repetition of the same forms has lost the power of moving the soul.[3]

"And it is not merely that the same group of psalms recurs so continually; it is also that the same masses, the same offices, the same antiphons, the same responds, the same homilies, are repeated to such a degree as to cease any longer to furnish any fresh thought, or provide any further instruction. And thus, besides the beautiful psalms and canticles which are no longer ever recited, we have only too large a number of responds of the season, and of masses proper to Sundays and ferias, which are practically unknown to the clergy.[4] And yet

[1] The *Ordo pro clero Romano* for 1902 included no less than sixty-seven feasts of confessor bishops, fifty-eight of confessors not bishops, forty-two of "one martyr," that is to say, the same nine psalms were repeated at mattins on 125 days, and even, with the exception of one single difference in the office of one martyr, on 167 days, not much less than half of the whole year. In this same *Ordo*, the Sunday office with its psalms occurs seventeen times; the psalmody for Monday and Tuesday is obligatory just once, and optional on two other days; that of Wednesday, obligatory three times, optional three times; that of Thursday is optional on three days, and that of Friday on one day, but neither of them ever obligatory; as for that of Saturday, in the whole year it is not to be met with even once, even as optional. So, in this year, the Saturday psalms for mattins, lauds and vespers are not said at all at Rome, the Thursday and Friday psalms are just as completely omitted by the great majority of priests, and the psalms of the other three ferias are obligatory on three days at most. [Note by Dom Grospellier.]

[2] That is to say, in the earliest recorded origins of the Roman office.

[3] But this assertion must not be pressed too far. It has not been sufficiently remarked that the psalms which occur most frequently, those of the common of Saints, are also those which present the fewest of those difficulties of comprehension which render the recitation of certain psalms no easy task. Bäumer, t. II. p. 342, quotes some observations of a liturgist of Cologne, written soon after 1821, which, in regard to this point, deserve study. Again, certain psalms have a prophetic or moral character which renders them suitable for certain offices of the season, or of the Saints; there are Messianic psalms, penitential psalms, etc.; it is impossible to regard every one of the psalms as providing matter suited for singing on every occasion!

[4] Thus, in 1902, the whole of the responds for the Sundays after Epiphany, for the last three Sundays after Easter, for the Sundays of August, September and

the sapidity, the unction, the variety, of these ancient devotional works constitute them very jewels among liturgical texts. Their restoration to proper use would be, like that of the psalter, most beneficial and most profitable: we desire it with our whole heart.[1]

"The best means of securing all these advantages would be, as I have already said, to reduce to the rank of simple feasts most of the present semi-doubles and lesser doubles, and thereby to secure as frequent a recitation as possible of the office of the Sunday and the ferial psalms. But then—it is no use denying the fact—it is precisely, to a large extent, with the object of avoiding this Sunday office and these psalms of the ferias that double feasts, and votive offices of the rank of semi-doubles, have been multiplied. No doubt, the Sunday office and that of certain ferias, especially of Thursday and Saturday, are of a length perceptibly greater than that of a feast of nine lessons: while, at the same time, it is just on Saturday and on Sunday that, at certain seasons, the additional time that has to be spent in pastoral ministrations leaves a priest the fewest spare moments. It would therefore plainly be desirable, in order to attain most efficaciously the result aimed at, to take suitable account of these two considerations, with a view to somewhat shortening the Sunday office, and to bring those of the ferias to a greater equality in regard to length.

"St. Pius V himself, supporting his judgment on the evidence furnished by Christian antiquity,[2] effected similar reforms in the breviary. Thus he suppressed almost entirely the obligation of reciting the offices of our Lady and of the Dead, and the penitential and gradual psalms, which were at that time frequently obligatory, but which had not been superposed on the principal office more than three or four centuries before his time: and in the same way he reduced the number of the *Suffragia sanctorum*, which had been multiplied during some previous centuries. The Sunday office for prime, also, which

October, and those for the ferias of almost the entire year, were lost to the clergy of Rome. The same was the case with twenty-eight Sunday masses (more than half the whole number), and with all the ferial masses in Lent and of the Ember-days, with the exception of Ash Wednesday, Holy Week, and the Ember-days of Whitsun Week: at all events, all that priests saw of them consisted of the collects and the gospels. [Note by Dom Grospellier.]

[1] This remark is profoundly just. The more of these ancient devotional texts—I speak especially of the responds of the season—that can be rescued from oblivion and restored to common use in the breviary, the more gratitude we shall owe to those who are restoring the Gregorian chant.

[2] The reference is to the liturgy of the time of Amalarius.

had up to his time been unduly long, was relieved of the five psalms, 21 to 25, which, in order to retain them in the weekly recitation of the psalter, were distributed over the five succeeding ferias. At the present time, some reductions and abbreviations made in the same spirit would remove all objections to the use of the Sunday and ferial offices.

"Six psalms might be removed from Sunday mattins, which now include 18; they would thus have no more than 12, like the ferias. Of these six psalms (3, 6, 9, 10, 13, 14), the first would be put, at Sunday lauds, in the place of Ps. XCIX., *Jubilate*, which has already its place in its due order at Saturday mattins; the other five would also find place at lauds, on five ferias, in the place of Ps. L., *Miserere*, which would be reserved for Friday only. Then, as to the canticles at lauds, *Cantemus Domino* (Ex. XV.) would be put on Tuesday in the place of *Ego dixi* (Isaiah XXXVIII.); *Audite caeli* (Deut. XXXII.) would take the place of *Exsultavit* (1 Reg. II.) on Wednesday. The latter would come on Thursday instead of *Cantemus Domino;* and lastly, *Ego dixi* would come on Saturday instead of *Audite caeli*, as it does already on Easter Eve.[1] By this means, without the loss of any psalm or canticle, the psalmody for Sunday would be shortened by seven columns of the breviary, and that for the several ferias would be perceptibly equalized in length.

"But this is not all. With the same object in view, it would be well to suppress the *Suffragia Sanctorum* altogether, as being an addition to the office relatively recent,[2] or perhaps rather to distribute them over the six ferias of the week, excluding them from recitation on Sunday. This would also have the advantage of giving to the devotions at the principal hours of prayer, a certain character of completeness, which would facilitate the suppression of the recently conceded votive offices,[3] as it would certainly be right to do, if most semi-doubles and lesser doubles were reduced to the rank of simple feasts, for these votive offices introduced into the liturgical week a principle absolutely novel.

"It might be possible also to suppress the *Pater*, *Ave*, and *Credo* at the beginning of the several offices, and the antiphon

[1] These permutations of psalms and canticles would naturally necessitate certain changes in antiphons, for the antiphon taken from any psalm or canticle must of course always accompany the same. [Note by Dom Grospellier.]

[2] This suggestion has been carried out by Pius X, who has reduced the *Suffragia* to one only—*De omnibus sanctis.*

[3] A suppression decreed by Pius X.

of our Lady at the end of most of them, and to recite it only after compline.[1] The former are a very recent addition; and moreover nothing forms a better beginning for an office than the versicles *Domine, labia mea aperies*, and *Deus in adjutorium meum intende.* The concluding antiphon of our Lady, which dates from the thirteenth century, was only at first said at the end of compline.

"Other suppressions would also be possible, which would not in any way alter the constitution of the office: such as the *Pater* at nocturns; the psalm in the *Preces* at lauds and vespers, since it is already recited elsewhere; and even the long *Preces* at lauds might be replaced by the form provided for the little hours, leaving the longer form to be used at vespers only.[2]

"In order to secure the less frequent omission of some of the psalms at prime, it would be better to prefix to the psalm *Beati immaculati* every day, even on festivals, the special psalm appointed for the Sunday and for each feria; the *Deus in nomine Tuo* (Ps. LIII.) would be reserved for Saturday, as that day has now no special psalm. With the same object, on saints' days, when the antiphons at lauds and vespers are not taken from the psalms—and this is what is generally the case—it would be desirable to replace the psalms and canticles of Sunday by those of the feria occurrent.[3] In this case again, the course recommended would be a return to more ancient practice.

"It would also be easy to preserve the responds of the season, which at present are not recited. For this purpose it would suffice to ordain that every lesson of the Scripture occurrent, and every homily of the season, should invariably be followed by the respond of the season belonging to it, and not by that of the feast.[4] This again would mean a return to the custom of old times, when this connexion between a lesson and its respond was considered a matter of necessity.

"In the next place, it would be better to replace *Te Deum* on simple feasts by a third respond, and by a ninth respond on feasts of nine lessons of no exceptional solemnity.[5] It may

[1] These two suggestions have not been adopted; and, undoubtedly, very many of us regret that such is the case.

[2] Pius X has now suppressed the psalm in the *preces* at lauds and vespers, and has given to the *preces* a new and much simpler form, which fulfils the desire of Dom Grospellier.

[3] Pius X has adopted this course.

[4] This suggestion has not been carried out, a fact regretted by many liturgists.

[5] Another good suggestion not as yet adopted.

be remarked that this was in great measure customary before the time of St. Pius V, and the custom is retained in the breviaries of the ancient religious orders. *Te Deum* would thus be reserved, as of old, for Sundays and for feasts of the highest rank. The substitution of a respond for it on other feasts would also constitute an appreciable abbreviation in addition to those already suggested.

"A reform of a bolder character, in that it departs from the ancient principle of having twelve psalms in the nocturnal office, is recommended by a certain number of liturgists; this would include a general reduction of the number of the psalms at mattins to *nine*—as well for Sundays and ferias as for saints' days. It would therefore become necessary to find place in the course of the week for the twenty-seven psalms thus displaced. Means for this end would be found in a reform of the lesser hours.[1] Psalm CXVIII would only be recited on Sundays, providing room, on the six week-days, for sixty-six psalms. This arrangement would permit of the division into sections of the longest psalms, and thus (without prejudice to the weekly recitation of the whole psalter) to give additional satisfaction to those who desire the reduction of the ferial office to the average present length of that of a feast of nine lessons. But, in my opinion, it would be right to preserve for *compline* its original character, which marks it out as the traditional office of evening prayer, giving its completion to the daily office while remaining substantially independent of it.

"Such are the changes which appear possible and advantageous, in order to restore to common use in their integrity the psalter, the responsoral and masses of the season. Far from being a departure from the traditional Roman office, these changes would on the contrary restore that office to a form, purer and more reasonable, as well as more ancient."[2]

The reform thus sketched in 1902 by Dom Grospellier in reality proposes two alternative reforms: the first consists in rehandling the *Sanctorale* by reducing to the rank of simple feasts the greater number of present lesser doubles and semi-doubles. We have already met with a proposition of the same kind on the part of the author of the *Avis sur les Bréviaires*, in 1775. To "simplify" the lesser doubles and semi-doubles is an operation which involves the disadvantage of diminishing the liturgical honour rendered to certain saints, and conse-

[1] [Excluding compline.—A. B.] [2] Grospellier, pp. 10-15.

quently of exercising a disturbing influence on piety. Further, this operation, by bringing back the more frequent recitation of the Sunday and ferial offices, brings into prominence the necessity for shortening these offices, since they have been discarded for no other reason than because of their inordinate length. Dom Grospellier therefore proposes some degree of rehandling, with a view to relieving the congestion (if one may so call it) of the office of the Sunday and the ferias: Sunday mattins, which now include eighteen psalms, are to have only twelve, and the six psalms thus displaced are to be distributed over the lauds of Sundays and week-days. St. Pius V shortened the Sunday office for prime by a similar operation. When we read over attentively the pages quoted above from Dom Grospellier, we perceive that this rehandling of the Sunday mattins is the only one which he ventures to propose in regard to the nocturnal office; he does not touch the *ferial* mattins, which in h s proposal retain their twelve psalms as before. And we cannot help seeing that (whether we like it or not) there is a demand for some bolder reform of the Sunday and ferial office than this. Dom Grospellier is quite aware of it; and so, timidly, putting it forward as a reform "recommended by a certain number of liturgists," he sketches as a second alternative precisely the reform adopted, nine years after, by Pius X; the general reduction of the psalms at mattins to nine—for Sundays and ferias as well as for saints' days—the psalms thus removed from the mattins distributed over the lesser hours of the ferias—the long psalms cut up into *divisiones*. Dom Grospellier does no more than indicate the main lines of the radical reform as thus conceived by him: as to the liturgists who have recommended it, he does not tell us who they are,[1] but how can we fail to recognize the authors of the Parisian breviary of 1736?

Lastly, we may mention that Dom Grospellier was not alone in sketching a reform of the breviary. The Benedictines, on their side, were debating whether the moment had not come for demanding a revision of the monastic breviary as given

[1] He confines himself to saying, in a note (p. 15): "One may see what radical reforms, both as to the arrangement of the psalter and of festivals were recommended by the Ven. Cardinal Tomasi". I have noticed above (p. 238, note 3) the views of Cardinal Tomasi. We may recall the fact that he proposed the actual recitation of the entire psalter every week: "Psalmi cum canticis semper iidem dicentur prout dispositi sunt per ferias hebdomadae, tantummodo celeberrimis diebus, Natalis, Epiphaniae, Paschae, etc., exceptis, in quibus ex antiquo more proprii psalmi recitabuntur". Cf. *Analecta juris Pontificii*, 1887-1888, pp. 512-517.

them by Paul V (1605-1621). In 1907, the Superiors of the Benedictine Congregation, assembled at Rome in the College of St. Anselm, were approached by the Benedictines of France with a proposition touching the reform of the monastic breviary. In support of the proposition there was distributed a pamphlet by the Abbot of Silos, Dom Guépin, entitled: *De ratione Breviarii Romani monastici ejusque emendatione commentarium* (1908) a copy of which I have before me. Dom Guépin had especially taken his inspiration from the labours of the Commission of Benedict XIV: "Eorum vestigiis insistentes, non equidem intendimus Breviarium renovare quoad psalterium et officium de tempore. Breviarium a Pio V redactum ut opus admirabile habetur." Dom Guépin comments adversely on the "indiscreet" multiplication of saints' days. The greater number of such festivals he would wish to see reduced to the rank of simple feasts, or even to a mere commemoration: "Inde fieret ut frequentius recitaretur Psalterium feriale matutinum etiamque vespertinum" (p. 21). The work of Dom Guépin, as of the consultators of Benedict XIV, follows the line of a reform of the kalendar of saints' days, with a view to the restoration to common use of the Sunday and ferial offices. He writes: " . . . festivitates . . . kalendario surrepserunt: quae, quum omnes ferme ritum duplicem prae se ferant, hebdomadariam Psalterii recitationem a beatissimo Benedicto indictam impossibilem reddunt, non sine magno monachorum detrimento, quorum animabus similem per dies victum, iteratam dico eorundem psalmorum, lectionum, hymnorum, responsoriorum repetitionem, fastidium parere necesse est, quum interim exquisita pulmenta prae se habeant, quae, Tantali supplicio renovato, ab architriclinio degustare vetantur" (p. 8). One sees here the same line of thought as that followed by most recent liturgists.

The Bull *Divino afflatu*, promulgating the reform decreed by Pius X, bears date November 1st, 1911.

Of the labours which preceded and prepared for this reform we know, so far, very little. The Congregation of Rites being minded to bring out a new issue of the *Editio typica*, with the insertion of some new rubrics, the Pope indicated to them that he was rather in favour of undertaking that thorough reformation of the breviary which was so much required. And, after

mature reflection, he decided on nominating a Commission to study the question, and take account of the various requests submitted to the Holy See in connexion with it, during the last hundred years. The Commission drew up a scheme of reform with regard to the distribution of the psalter, and this scheme the Pope submitted to the Cardinals of the Congregation of Rites, who, after examination, approved it. The Commission then set to work diligently on the elaboration of the scheme thus approved: they arranged the distribution of the psalter, and drew up the necessary rubrics. Finally they obtained for their work the supreme approbation of Pius X.[1] No date is given: we are simply informed of the names of the members of the Commission. The president was Mgr. La Fontaine, Secretary of the Congregation of Rites; with him were Mgr. Scipione Tecchi, Consultator of the same Congregation; Mgr. Bressan, the Pope's private secretary; Mgr. Piacenza, *Officiale* of the Congregation of Rites; Mgr. Aristide Gasparri, *ajutante di studio* of the same Congregation; Father Brugnani, of the Minorites of the Leonine Union; Father Fouck, a Jesuit; M. d'Isengard, a Lazarist, Consultator of the Congregation of Rites, and M. Bréhaut, liturgical director of the Pustet press. Mgr. Gasparri acted as secretary.[2] We are also assured that Pius X took the greatest personal interest in the work of the Commission which he had nominated: of this the presence of Mgr. Bressan at its sittings is an indication. Lastly, we are assured, and that most emphatically, that the present reform of the psalter is but the forerunner of a further complementary reform, of which Mgr. Piacenza thus sketches the programme: (1) to determine the criteria which are to decide what festivals are to be observed throughout the whole Church, and what should be their several degrees of dignity; (2) to amend the historical lessons "in accordance with the laws of true criticism";[3] (3) to revise the sermons and homilies of

[1] Piacenza, p. 6. [2] *id.* p. 26.

[3] Dom Grospellier (p. 34) has well said: "It is, in my opinion, to form an erroneous idea of the breviary to require in it the scientific strictness of a collection of critical hagiography. Certain legends have become the inheritance of Christian tradition, not by virtue of their historical certitude, but because of their expression of lively and fervent piety in regard to the saints: they have influenced the way of thinking, feeling and praying, on the part of our forefathers, and they come to us charged with a spiritual life which is indeed sometimes characterised by simplicity, but often full of power, and almost always able to touch the heart. These legends, therefore, belong to the history of the Church just in the same way as legendary lays and ballads belong to the history of nations. It would be something like vandalism to banish them altogether from the book of public prayer, even as it would be vandalism to break the painted windows of cathedrals or tear

the Fathers, so as to remove from them everything that is not authentic; (4) to reform the general rubrics of the breviary in accordance with the recently prescribed changes; (5) to introduce a *Commune plurimorum Confessorum*, and also a *Commune pro pluribus Sanctis Mulieribus*, with a view, says *Piacenza*, to reducing the number of festivals without prejudice to the cultus of the saints.[1] The first three items of this programme of work would revive the projects of Benedict XIV as to the kalendar of saints' days and the lectionary.

We are not told that we may venture to hope for a speedy execution of this programme; but at all events we have the Pope's word that such a programme is not a thing to be deemed chimerical or prohibited. The Bull *Divino afflatu*, in fact, says expressly: "Nemo non videt, per ea quae hic a Nobis decreta sunt, primum Nos fecisse gradum ad Romani Breviarii et Missalis emendationem; sed super tali causa proprium mox Consilium, seu Commissionem, ut aiunt, eruditorum constituemus."[2]

We will now give a brief summary of the Bull *Divino afflatu*. Psalmody is the soul of the divine office; it was so at the first beginning of the Church, it is so always. Inspired by God, the psalms have a sovereign and inexhaustible religious power. Hence it is easy to understand that from very ancient times it should have been prescribed, by the decrees of Roman Pontiffs, by canons of councils, by the rules of religious orders, that the whole psalter should be recited every week by the clergy, whether secular or regular. This prescription would be observed still, if matters at the present time were not in such a condition as to cause frequent interruptions in that recitation: saints' days have been multiplied; the offices of

the canvases of early masters, on the ground that the representations in those windows or pictures are not accurate historical documents like a charter or a monumental inscription. And, morever, nothing would be easier than to satisfy all reasonable demands by giving notice, by means of a word or two at the beginning of a lesson, that one was not intended to regard it as a piece of critical exactitude. The single word *fertur*, which one already meets with often enough in the breviary, would suffice for the purpose." Thus, in the new psalter, the attribution of the *Te Deum* to S. Ambrose and S. Augustine has been suppressed, but in its place is written *Hymnus Ambrosianus:* so much notice the old legend deserved.

[1] Piacenza, p. 27. The Parisian breviary of 1736 had, besides the Common of Apostles, of one Martyr, and of many Martyrs, a *Commune Pontificum*, a *Commune Doctorum*, a *Commune Presbyterorum*, a *Commune Abbatum* (*Monachorum, Coenobitarum et Anachoretarum*), a *Commune Justorum* (for laymen), a *Commune Virginum*, and a *Commune Sanctorum Mulierum*.

[2] The *Annuario pontificio per l' anno* 1912, *publicazione ufficiale* (Roma, 1912), makes it clear that the *Commissione storico-liturgica*, presided over by Mgr. Duchesne, has been dissolved.

the saints have been substituted for those of the Sunday or the ferias: "unde fere factum est ut de dominicis diebus deque feriis officia silerent, ideoque non pauci neglegerentur psalmi". Against this state of things complaints have been made again and again, on the part of prudent and pious persons; saying that there was now lacking to prayer that variety which is so desirable, so helpful to the infirmity of human nature when it endeavours to pray worthily, attentively and devoutly. Bishops from various parts of the world, especially at the Vatican council, have expressed to the Holy See their desire: "ut quoad posset revocaretur consuetudo vetus recitandi per hebdomadam totum psalterium, ita tamen ut clero, in sacri ministerii vinea ob imminutum operariorum numerum jam gravius laboranti, non majus imponeretur onus".[1] Pius X tells us that this desire, namely, for the recitation of the whole psalter every week, was also his, when he was yet *in minoribus*. He has therefore decided to gratify it, two conditions being observed: first, that the cultus of the saints is not to be in any way lessened,—"cauto tamen ne . . . quicquam de Sanctorum cultu decederet": secondly, that the office which has to be recited is not to be made heavier, but, on the contrary, lightened,—"neve . . . molestius Divini officii onus clericis, immo temperatius evaderet". The Pope has nominated a Commission which has worked out *novam psalterii dispositionem*, and this arrangement of the psalter has been examined by the Cardinals of the Congregation of Rites, and approved by the Pope as agreeing perfectly with his own design: "utpote cum mente Nostra admodum congruentem". New rubrics have been framed, which especially provide for the more frequent use of the lessons from the Scripture occurrent: "ut in recitando Divino officio lectionibus statutis sacrae Scripturae cum responsoriis de tempore occurrentibus [2] debitus

[1] The reader will remember that such was the desire expressed by the eleven French bishops, with Mgr. Darboy at their head, at the Vatican Council; it was the Canadian bishops who demanded the recitation of the whole psalter every week, and a shorter office for the sake of curés and confessors who were overworked on the eves of great festivals. An analogous observation may be remarked in the indult of July 5th, 1883, which conceded the votive offices—"Compertum quippe est, coarctata translationum serie, haud leviter augeri onus officiorum ferialium, quod, imminuto hodie cleri numero, auctisque aliis ejus oneribus, minime convenire existimatur".

[2] The restitution to the lessons of the Scripture occurrent of their responds of the season seems in these words to be promised in the case of the offices of saints' days which are now to take the psalmody of the feria. Liturgists will regret that the Commission has not carried out this restitution—so greatly to be desired. Piacenza, pp. 39-41, gives the reasons for the action of the Commission.

honor frequentiore usu restitueretur"—and which also prescribe that the very ancient masses—*Missae antiquissimae*—for the Sundays and ferias, in Lent especially, are to be restored to their proper rank of dignity. From January 1st, 1913, the present arrangement of the Psalter will be withdrawn, and the new arrangement will become obligatory for all clergy and religious bodies who are bound to the recitation of the Roman breviary set forth by Pius V, Clement VIII, Urban VIII, and Leo XIII.[1] From this obligation not even the Cardinal archpriests of patriarchal basilicas are excepted. An earlier use of the new psalter is permitted to any individual priest who so desires, and to chapters, if a majority of the members consent. Then follow the usual concluding clauses.

At the same time with the Bull *Divino afflatu*, there was published at the Vatican press the official (*typica*) edition of the new psalter. The title runs: *Psalterium Breviarii Romani cum Ordinario Divini officii, jussu SS.D.N. Pii PP. X. novo ordine per hebdomadam dispositum et editum.* Then follows the Bull *Divino afflatu*, then the *Rubricae in recitatione Divini officii et in Missarum celebratione servandae, ad normam Bullae "Divino afflatu".*[2] In the ordinary Roman breviary, the psalms are intermingled with the *Ordinarium Divini officii;* the new edition separates these two elements.[3] Thus we have first the *Ordinarium Divini officii juxta ritum Romanum persolvendi*, i.e. the elements other than the psalms which compose the structure of the canonical hours, and then the *Psalterium Breviarii Romani per omnes et singulos hebdomadae dies dispositum.*

The first innovation which we find in this psalter consists in its assigning *nine* psalms to the mattins of all offices alike:[4] an arrangement borrowed from the Parisian breviary of 1736. Thus we are to have no more Sunday mattins of eighteen

[1] This clause preserves the exemption of the breviaries not suppressed by Pius V, breviaries which have indeed been protected by the Holy See, such as the present *Breviarium Monasticum*, approved by Paul V in 1612, for the Benedictine order.

[2] C. Callewaert in *La réforme du Breviaire, son esprit, ses prescriptions nouvelles* (Bruges, 1912), p. 60, praises with justice the form in which the rubrics are worded and set out in print: "La récitation [de l'office] d'après le nouveau psautier est d'une facilité, d'une régularité, qui étonne ceux-là même qui sent une aversion quasi instinctive pour l'aridité des textes rubricaires".

[3] This separation already occurs in the Parisian breviary of 1736, which gives first the *Psalterium dispositum per hebdomadam*, and then the *Ordinarium Breviarii.*

[4] The only exception is in the case of the Paschal and Pentecostal mattins, which retain their *three* psalms.

psalms, no more ferial mattins of twelve psalms, nothing but mattins of nine psalms, Sundays, ferias, or saints' days.

Second innovation: the long psalms are cut up into *divisiones*, each counting as a psalm. This arrangement also is borrowed from the Parisian breviary of 1736, which founded its action on a Council of Narbonne of 689. But something of the same kind we find already sanctioned by the Rule of St. Benedict, and also practised in the Ambrosian rite.

Third innovation: the psalms which are no longer employed in the mattins of Sunday and the ferias are distributed over lauds and the lesser hours throughout the week, all these offices, including compline, having henceforward their own psalms, varying for each day. This arrangement, again, is found in the Parisian breviary of 1736.

Of these three innovations consists the new distribution of the psalter, which forms the chief item in the reform of Pius X. It will be remembered that the consultators of Benedict XIV rejected every proposition involving the modification of the traditional Roman arrangement of the psalter, in spite of the earnest appeals of which Cardinal Tamburini made himself the mouthpiece. They did not think that the established order could be sacrificed, without such rash innovation as would be dangerous. They appealed to the similar decision arrived at by the consultators of Clement VIII.[1] But the

[1] The memorandum of the consultators of Benedict XIV, *De non immutando veteri psalmodiae ritu*, appeared in the *Analecta juris pontificii*, series XXVII (1887-8), pp. 290-301. The consultators inform us that the question was raised at the time of the reform of Clement VIII: "Congregatio habita sub Clemente VIII, die 10 Novembris, 1592. In eo siquidem proposito dubio consimili—*An officium dominicale sit reddendum aliquanto brevius?*—fuit resolutum: 'Non esse immutandum vel abbreviandum, ex rationibus a Gregorio VII adductis in Cap. *In die de consecrat.*, dist. 5'." The consultators conclude from the text of Gregory VII: "Is igitur qui nunc in Ecclesia Romana viget divinae psalmodiae ritus vetustissima antiquitate utitur, a qua sine aliqua novitatis nota ac sine periculo recedi vix possit". They enumerate the various ancient testimonies to the Roman arrangement of the psalter, they dwell on the witness borne to it by Amalarius. They are aware that in France, towards the end of the seventeenth century—"nova primum prodiit psalmorum distributio"—but they call attention to the liturgical anarchy that has resulted: "Jam in Gallis undecim diversa breviaria numerantur, novique in dies prodeunt breviariorum prospectus, nova cuduntur systemata". Then, after a description of this anarchy, they continue: "Cavere igitur oportet ne in eosdem scopulos incidamus. Vetus psalmorum distributio omnium est optima; hanc prae ceteris commendarunt veteres, Amalarius, Rupertus, Strabo, Radulphus, aliique; hanc commendant recentiores, et ipsimet Gallorum doctissimi (they quote Grancolas). . . . Periculum ergo imminet si ab hac recesserimus". They make the most of the fact that under Sixtus V the most learned men of France, Poland, Savoy, Spain, Bohemia, and Venice were interrogated—"at nemo inventus est qui veterem psalterii distributionem immutandam censeret". Their opinions and the letters of the nuncios who transmitted them are extant: "in

consultators of Pius X have attacked this central difficulty courageously, they have solved it by the method of innovation, and Pius X has approved what they have done.[1]

The mattins for Sundays, ferias, and saints' days having all alike been made to have nine psalms, it is ordered in the next place that on ferias and simple feasts the psalms, which in the new psalter are set down under three nocturns, are to be recited with their nine antiphons continuously, forming thus one single nocturn. Thanks to this arrangement (taken from the Parisian breviary of 1736), the nine psalms of the one nocturn of ferial mattins serve equally well for the three nocturns of the mattins of a festival. On every double feast—including greater doubles—on semi-doubles and simples, there are to be recited, both at mattins and the other hours, the psalms of the feria occurrent, unless the festival is one which has proper psalms and antiphons assigned to it for the principal hours. The lessons of the first nocturn are always to be of the Scripture occurrent. Festivals of the season or of saints which are of the rank of doubles of the first or second class, and have proper antiphons to the psalms, will retain them, taking, for lauds, the lesser hours, and compline, the psalms assigned to those hours for Sunday in the new psalter. The offices for the last three days of Holy Week, like those of Easter and Pentecost, are to remain unchanged.

As regards the Sunday office, rubrics are set forth in order to give it privilege. No change is made in the *status* of the greater Sundays of the first and second class; but the office of the lesser Sundays is henceforth only to be superseded by the occurrence of a festival of our Lord, a double of the first or second class, or the octave day of a festival of our Lord. In other words, the *Dominicae minores*, or *Dominicae per annum*,

codicibus bibliothecae Vallicellanae G. 79, G. 83". The consultators have done all that seemed to them feasible—"ut frequenter officium celebretur de feria, integrum intra hebdomadam psalterium non raro recitetur, praesertim quadragesimali tempore, a quo omnia ferme sanctorum festa duplicia et semi-duplicia remota fuere". They have suppressed fifty-one offices, doubles or semi-doubles; they have "simplified" thirty-two more, etc.: but they have refused to interfere with the distribution of the psalter, taking shelter under the maxim of Raoul de Rivo: "Securius observate quod provida antiquitas et auctoritas instituunt, quam quod inconsiderata novitas et infirmitas adinvenit".

[1] Piacenza, pp. 132-3, gives us to understand that the consultators of Pius X discussed various propositions concerning the distribution of the psalter, and that it was Father Brugnani who secured the acceptance of the arrangement which was adopted: "De ipsa scimus quod P. Paschalis Brugnani, O.M., unus ex iis qui ad novum psalterium adlaboravit [sic], in scripto suo quod brevi in lucem proferre curabit, rationem redde[t] tum de divisione adopta, tum de psalmorum partitione".

in cases of occurrence, take precedence of saints' days of the rank of greater double and under.[1]

The transference of festivals, so unanimously complained of by liturgists, is now restricted to feasts of the rank of double of the first or second class: and these are only to be transferred to the first day not occupied by a double of the first or second class. Feasts of any lower rank, including those of doctors of the Church, are no longer to be transferred: if a superior festival or a Sunday occurs, they have merely a commemoration.

I cannot do more than indicate the main lines of the reform of the rubrics, and must refer the reader to the text of the rubrics themselves for details: but these main lines it is necessary to set forth clearly.

First, saints' days of the rank of double (greater or lesser) and semi-double, are not reduced to the rank of simple feasts, but are combined with the ferial office in the same way as simple feasts (if there were any left!) have hitherto been in the breviary.[2]

Secondly, the *Dominicae minores* supersede festivals of saints even of the rank of greater double: whereas, until now, such festivals, even of no higher rank than lesser double, took precedence of these lesser Sundays.[3]

One may reckon approximately that the *Ordo* henceforth will comprise 150 offices of the *Sanctorale* unchanged; 150 combining the *Temporale* and the *Sanctorale;* and sixty entirely of the *Temporale.*

Such is the scheme of the reform of Pius X, as regards the general structure of the divine office. Let us notice some in-

[1] By a special arrangement (*Rubrics*, Tit. IV. p. 3), Pius X saves from extinction the festival of the Holy Name of Mary (which had been set down for the Sunday in the Octave of her Nativity, with the rank of greater double) by fixing it henceforth on September 12th, the anniversary of the victory of John Sobieski. See above, p. 253, and Piacenza, p. 79. On the other hand, Sunday feasts with the rank of greater double (such as the Purity and the Maternity of the Blessed Virgin), or of lesser double (such as the Commemoration of all the Supreme Pontiffs), are shut out, and are destined to disappear. Piacenza, pp. 78 and 118. In the Paris breviary of 1736, lesser or "common" Sundays took precedence of lesser doubles, but not of greater doubles; indeed, they gave way even to lesser doubles, if these were feasts of our Lord or our Lady (*Rubr. Gen.* § 3).

[2] *Cf. Rubr. Gen.* § 77, of the Paris breviary of 1736: "In solemnibus scilicet et supra, dicuntur psalmi proprii, vel si desint, sumantur de Dominica. In duplicibus et infra, psalmi sunt semper de feria." This rubric refers to the *nocturnal* office.

[3] *Cf. Rubr. Gen.* § 63, of the Paris breviary: "[Dominicae communes] cedunt omnibus duplicibus [et] duplicibus minoribus D^ni^ et B. M., necnon diei octavae cujuslibet festi, etc. . . . caetera vero duplicia minora excludunt."

teresting corrections in regard to matters of detail: (1) In order to lighten the office, and also to establish an exact conformity between the office and the mass, the *Suffragia Sanctorum*, on the days on which they are still prescribed, are reduced to one only—*De omnibus Sanctis*—with the collect, *A cunctis*.[1] (2) The *Quicunque vult* is retained in the Sunday office for prime, under the old title of *Symbolum Athanasianum*; but it is now only to be said on Trinity Sunday, and on the Sundays after Epiphany and after Pentecost when the office is of the Sunday: even then, it is to be omitted if any festival is that day commemorated,[2] when the *Suffragium* and *Preces* are in like manner to be omitted. (3) The indult of July 5th, 1883, conceding the use of the votive offices, is abrogated, and these offices suppressed.[3] (4) The rubrics are also abrogated which prescribed the recitation in choir of the little office of our Lady, the office of the dead, and the gradual and penitential psalms. (5) On week days in Lent, ember days, the rogation days, and vigils, if a double feast occurs, there may be said *ad libitum*, in private masses, the mass of the festival or of the feria.[4] (6) The anniversary of the dedication of the basilica of S. John Lateran is raised to the rank of a double of the second class, as is also the titular feast of that basilica, the Transfiguration of our Saviour. (7) The office of the dead is made complete for all the canonical hours, and on November 2nd is to be recited to the exclusion of the office of the octave of All Saints.

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[1] Considering the late and non-Roman origin of these *Suffragia* (see above, pp. 146, 147) their total suppression would have been accepted without regret. The new psalter has revised and shortened the *Preces*, suppressing the psalm which was interpolated in them, and introducing versicles on behalf of the Pope and the Bishop. Callewaert, p. 23, is of opinion that the new version of the *Preces* brings them nearer to their primitive state.

[2] This being so, many liturgists will think that the *Quicunque vult* (why perpetuate the old error of its attribution to S. Athanasius?) might as well have been reserved for recitation on Trinity Sunday only, as a monument of a state of things as regards liturgy which is past and gone (see above, pp. 145, 146). As to the present state of the question of the origin of the *Quicunque vult* since Dom Morin's latest researches, see Father Lejay, "La date et le lieu d'origine du Symbole de Saint Athanase" (*Bull. d'anc. litt. Chrêt.* 1912).

[3] Piacenza, p. 97: "Nemo, sacrae antiquitatis cultor, hujusmodi abrogationem votivorum officiorum plenissime non laudabit".

[4] Piacenza, p. 105, tells us that some of the consultators proposed that on such occasions the mass of the feria should be made obligatory: but the Commission resolved on leaving it *ad libitum*, and he adds: "In posterum vero, multa festa de Quadragesima amovebuntur, ut frequentius officium feriale in dicto venerando tempore dicatur".

It is too early to venture on an appreciation of the reform of Pius X such as we have given of that of Pius V or of Urban VIII. It is only right to await its completion, since we have as yet only its inchoation: to wait until it has stood the test of some years of use, whereas it dates but from yesterday. Again, the point of view from which, in this history, we should regard the reform of Pius X would be confined to the merely historical: the Roman breviary is an ancient thing, which we historians are inclined to regard even too exclusively as an ancient thing, and which we desire to see preserved as such, dreading any restoration of it which is not inspired by a discretion most carefully observant of ancient documents. The projects of Benedict XIV made us tremble, even though Benedict XIV himself declared *quod Breviarii reformatio sibi esset in votis, non innovatio.* We applauded in its principles the criticism by Dom Guéranger of the Gallican modernism which gave us the Parisian breviary of 1736. And from all this it is evident that our aversion to change would tend to exclude from our view many practical considerations which belong to the present time.

In fact, just as in putting forth the *Breviarium Romanum secundum consuetudinem Romanae Curiae*, Innocent III adapted the canonical office to the wants of the clergy of the Curia in the thirteenth century, Pius X now adapts the *Breviarium Romanum* to the wants of the parochial clergy of the twentieth century. "The present reform of the breviary lightens, in fact, notably, the *onus diei* for priests who are, in many cases, only too fully occupied in the manifold and ever-increasing labours of ministering to souls. And this relief is especially perceptible on the days when the work of that holy ministry is generally the most exacting, such as Sundays, and the eves of great festivals. . . . From the practical point of view, especially in the case of the parochial clergy, the design of Pius X has been fully realized."[1] M. Callewaert, whom I quote with pleasure, since he is a liturgist with a just and thoroughly well-informed appreciation of the subject, here indicates clearly the character of this reform (which he is not afraid to describe as "radical," and even as "much more radical than had been supposed") in its deliberate endeavour to meet the "practical requirements of the present day in regard to liturgy".

Besides being practical and radical, the reform of Pius X has also a mystical aspect. The reformed office impresses

[1] Callewaert, p. 35.

ecclesiastics as opening up a new world of devotion. Attention grew languid over the perpetual repetition of the same psalms—about thirty in number—and was quickened only over the lessons, the collects, and sometimes the responds and antiphons. But now the psalms, by their variety, recover their liturgical value: they take their due place in the foreground, the rest being, as it should be, subordinated to them. No doubt, one may go too far in insisting on the variety of the psalms, for the psalms to a large extent repeat themselves: moreover, it was not for us that they were originally written, and hence they contain much that for us has no application, to say nothing of the well-nigh invincible obscurity of many passages in them.[1] Nevertheless they all have the virtue which is theirs by right of divine inspiration, and it is for each of us, by study and meditation even more than by recitation, to make that virtue contribute to our personal sanctification.[2]

One guiding principle which one remarks in this reform is that of rehandling the offices as little as possible: though the distribution of the psalter is re-cast, the proper of the season and of saints, and the common of saints, remain untouched—at all events up to the present time.[3] Nothing is changed in the offices for festivals of our Lord and their octaves, for the Sundays within the octaves of Christmas, Epiphany, Ascension Day, and Corpus Christi, for the vigil of the Epiphany, or for the Friday after the octave of the Ascension. Nor is anything changed in the offices for festivals of our Lady, the Holy Angels, St. John Baptist, St. Joseph, the Apostles, or any doubles of the first and second class. All these offices remain as they were, with the exception of the psalms at lauds, the lesser hours, and compline, which are to be those assigned to Sunday in the new psalter. All these offices have at mattins,

[1] [Mgr. Batiffol, will, I am sure, pardon me for remarking that, from the devotional point of view, this obscurity is not all loss: everyone who has made devout use of the psalter knows how hints of deep and ever-varying meaning continually stir the soul, as we recite the same mysterious words, which come to us like the utterance of a divine oracle speaking out of the darkness, with a meaning which we can but partly divine.—A. B.]

[2] In the new psalter a form of lauds is provided for festivals *per annum*, and, another for the ferias of Advent, Lent, Ember-days, etc. The psalmody of the latter always begins with *Miserere*, and has a proper canticle for each day of the week. To supply these there have been introduced seven canticles from Holy Scripture which had no previous place in the divine office: *Audite verbum*, Jer. xxxi. 10; *Benedictus es* (David), I Paral. xxix. 10; *Hymnum Cantemus*, Judith xvi. 15; *Magnus es*, Job xiii.; *Miserere nostri*, Ecclus. xxxvi.; etc. It is an innovation which no one had asked for.

[3] There is the one exception of five new antiphons at lauds, in the *Temporale*. See the *Prescriptiones temporariae* at the end of the new rubrics.

and some at vespers as well, proper psalms selected so as to accord with the character of the festival; most of them have proper responds, antiphons, and the other elements of the office which are susceptible of variation: the Supreme Pontiff considered with reason that it was not necessary to bring everything to one level, or to do away with these special pieces of liturgy, which will have all the more charm by becoming less common.[1] And even where, among the festivals of lower rank than these, any are found which have their own proper antiphons at mattins, lauds and vespers, they are allowed to retain them, along with the psalms to which they are assigned. Thus, on the whole, the admirable collection of responds and antiphons of the season and of the *Sanctorale* is preserved.

A happy return to liturgical antiquity presents itself in the revival of the ancient "masses of the station," on the ferias of Lent, the ember seasons, rogation days, and vigils. The reform, by restraining the privilege of transference of festivals, aims at setting free more days for the recitation of the ferial office: but I doubt whether this design will have any very great effect at once, so greatly encumbered with saints' days is the Roman kalendar, and the diocesan kalendars even more so. However, the design is at all events indicated.

In future the ferial office will hold the record for brevity—instead of the saints' day office of nine lessons—as it will be shorter than the latter by the six lessons of the second and third nocturns, while in other respects the two offices are about equal as regards length. Simple feasts and commemorations of festivals will once more come into favour: and indeed they constitute a prudent as well as ancient expression of devotion to the saints.

There is a more clearly marked and not less happy return to liturgical antiquity in the restoration of the office of Sunday to its proper dignity. The greater Sundays, which so rarely had their complete office, will have it henceforth, except in the case of the concurrence of a double of the first or second class: they will no longer be cut off short. The lesser Sundays will no longer be displaced by doubles: the office *De Dominica* will be recited, not only on the Sundays of Advent and from Septuagesmia to the end of Lent (greater Sundays), but on most of the Sundays *post Epiphaniam* and *post Pentecosten.*[2] Litur-

[1] Callewaert, p. 26.

[2] In this year, 1912, in the *Ordo* of Paris, we celebrate the office of Sunday twice only on a lesser Sunday: with the new rubrics, we should do so eighteen times.

gists will unanimously rejoice at this return to the Sunday and ferial offices.

There remain the saints' day offices of the rank of greater and lesser double, and semi-double, now to be treated in the same way as simple feasts, except that they retain their nine lessons. Former reforms of the breviary generally made wholesale sacrifices of festivals of saints, or at all events reduced them to the rank of simple feasts. Pius X has not chosen to adopt this course. Not one saint's day has been suppressed, not one lowered in rank. . . . Moreover, whatever parts of the office any festival possesses as proper to itself—antiphons, psalms, lessons, responds—are preserved intact.[1] But every festival which has no proper antiphons or psalms borrows the antiphons and psalms of the feria occurrent. The combination which has been adopted preserves from the *Sanctorale* hitherto in use everything but the psalmody. In this liturgists will see a partial, but happy, victory of the ferial office over that of the *Sanctorale.*

The distribution of the psalter is then the one truly innovating part of the reforms of Pius X. It has come as a surprise to liturgists who were aware of the pronounced opinions of the consultators of Benedict XIV on this point,[2] and shared their scruples: a liturgical tradition truly Roman, and of more than a thousand years' standing, is now to be abandoned. But to this we may reply: *ab initio non fuit sic:* for the distribution of the psalter over the various hours of the Roman office which has hitherto been in use, and is contemporaneous with the foundation of the basilican monasteries of Rome, implies a Roman office even then already completely formed: and the psalmody of the vigils for the clergy in the sixth century would surely be arranged with greater freedom, in accordance with the latitude which St. Benedict assumes as existing in regard to what he even then calls "the distribution of the psalms".[3] If Rome had possessed, in the sixth or even in the seventh century, a distribution of the psalms for the vigils which was uniform and, as it were, automatic, the Roman office would not have assigned proper psalms to certain offices of the season, such as the last three days of Holy Week, or Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas, and so in like manner to certain festivals of saints.[4]

[1] Callewaert, p. 54. [2] See above, pp. 250, 264.

[3] See above, p. 77, note 2, and Bäumer, t. I. p. 359.

[4] The principle invoked as ancient (*provisum est antiquitus*) by the Bull *Divino afflatu*, of reciting the entire psalter once in each week, is also a monastic

Let us not then attribute to the distribution of the psalter in use at Rome for the last thousand years a value which it does not possess: that distribution is not primitive, it is not essential, it is very imperfect. And what Rome has now done is well within the liberty which S. Benedict accords when he says—speaking of the distribution prescribed by him in his rule: "ut si cui forte haec distributio psalmorum displicuerit, ordinet, si melius aliter judicaverit, dum omnimodis adtendatur ut omni hebdomada psalterium ex integro numero CL psalmorum psallatur".

And let us remark that the psalter of Pius X has not really sacrificed the distribution in use from the time of Charlemagne, maintained by S. Pius V, and energetically defended by the consultators of Benedict XIV. Cardinal Quignonez did entirely do away with it: for him (whether at none or vespers or the single nocturn of mattins) there must be at each hour three psalms, chosen in such sort that the shortness of some should balance the greater length of others, and the psalmody of each day work out as about equally long. The 150 psalms being thus distributed over the fifty-six hours of the week, the psalms come in one after the other anyhow, simply grouped according to their length. At nocturns I note this succession; I., IX., XVII., XXX., XXXIV., CIV., XXXVI., XLIII., CVIII., LXVII., LXXII., LXXXVIII., etc. And at Vespers: CIX., CX., CXIII., LXXVI., CXV., CXLII., XXXIII., XL., CXII., XXXII., LXXXIII., CXI., etc.

The Paris breviary of 1736 equally does away with the old Roman distribution. The "Mysteries," i.e. the festivals of our Lord, and also the festivals of the Blessed Virgin, have their proper psalms, but all other festivals make use of the psalms of the feria. These are so distributed that all the 150 psalms are recited in the course of the week. Each day, and in each day each of the hours, has its own psalms. The long psalms are cut into sections. The psalmody of Sunday and ferial mattins alike consists of nine psalms, forming one nocturn or three, according to the rank of the festival on which they are being used. I fancy I hear my readers cry out: "Why, that is precisely the arrangement of the psalter of Pius X!"

I grant it you—but let us make a somewhat closer examination. You will find that the Parisian liturgists have aimed at grouping the psalms, on each day of the week, round some

principle, and the earliest witness to it which is produced comes from the rule of St. Benedict. See above, p. 77, note 2.

central thought: on Sunday it is the idea of the love of God and the divine law; on Monday, God's mercies; on the three succeeding days, charity towards one's neighbour, hope, faith; on Friday, patience (in memory of the Passion); on Saturday, thanksgiving. It is a classification of the psalms in their moral order, arbitrary, artificial. And in order thus to classify the psalms, their order in the psalter is broken up. Thus at nocturns we find, on Sunday, psalms CXII., III., XVII., XXVII., XXIX., LXV.; on Monday, CIII., CIV., CV.; on Wednesday, VI., VII., XIV., XVIII., LXXI., C.; and so forth.

Now look into the psalter of Pius X: notice the psalms assigned there to the mattins of Sunday and the ferias, and compare this arrangement with that found in the psalter hitherto in use. We find, no doubt, this or that psalm displaced (transferred for instance from the mattins of Sunday to those of Monday): or removed altogether from the programme of mattins—an inevitable result of the reduction of the number of psalms at mattins, and the division of the long psalms into sections. But though reduced and, as it were, thinned out, the *Ordo psalmorum* remains what it was: the psalmody begins on Sunday with psalm I., and then there follow psalms II., III., VIII., IX., X., XIII., XIV., XVI., XVII., XIX., XX., XXIX., XXXIV., XXXVI., XXXVII., XXXVIII., etc., ending on Saturday with CIV., CV., CVI. In the traditional Roman psalter the order was I., II., III., VI., VII., VIII., IX., X., XI., XII., XIII., XIV., XV., XVI., XVII., XVIII., XIX., XX., XXVI., XXVII., XXVIII., XXIX., etc., ending on Saturday with CIV.,CV., CVI., CVII., CVIII. And the same is equally true of the *Ordo psalmorum* at vespers; we start, as we always did, with psalm CIX., and then follow, as of old, psalms CX., CXI., CXII., CXIII., CXIV, etc., finishing with psalms CXL., CXLI., CXLIII., CXLIV.

True, while at mattins and vespers in the dominical and ferial offices we find the ancient distribution forming the basis of the new, it is not so with the ferial psalmody at lauds, the lesser hours, and compline. I confess that I regret the suppression, in the ferial lauds, of the daily use of psalms LXII. and LXVI., CXLVIII., CXLIX. and CL., and in like manner, at compline, the daily use of the same invariable psalms, IV., XXX., XC., CXXXIII. These psalms gave to lauds and compline their essential character and aspect, and it was one of great antiquity. But having frankly expressed this regret, I can honestly say that the reform of the lesser hours seems to me excellent: for the incessant daily use of Psalm CXVIII. was a grave im-

perfection in the breviary, especially when we consider how little variety there is in the matter contained in this psalm, and the monotonous character of its literary form. Indeed, one might go so far as to say that the psalmody of these ferial lesser hours has never before been properly dealt with in the Roman office, and that Pius X has here had not so much to reform as to create; he has given these lesser hours their own psalmody, whereas hitherto they have had to be content with making use of the psalmody belonging to Sunday.

To sum up, can one say that the new distribution of the psalter has *modernized* the Roman breviary? One thing is certain—the Roman breviary, as regards its psalmody, has now got rid of a considerable lack of symmetry. We have had, in fact, in the Roman office for Sundays and ferias, a most unequal distribution of the psalms; but now we shall have 235 psalms (or portions of psalms) of fairly equal length, distributed over the various hours of the dominical and ferial office during the week, so as to allow thirty-three for each day,[1] nine at mattins, five each at lauds and vespers, three at each of the lesser hours and at compline. And compline has always been the crowning instance of lack of symmetry, with its four psalms, one of which was shorn of nineteen of its verses!

The Roman office, then, lacked symmetry; but this was a feature which belonged to the history of its formation, and helped to indicate its character as a monument of antiquity, in contrast with the symmetrically arranged offices which we find in the breviaries of Cardinal Quignonez or M. Vintimille. The remark is just: but we may set off against it the fact, that by the recasting of the psalter we regain the recitation of it in its entirety: "We are no longer compelled, thanks be to God, to divide the psalms into two categories: some with which we are so familiar that we are in danger of reciting them as a matter of mere routine, and others to which we are almost complete strangers, since we so rarely come across them in our perhaps hurried recitation of offices which we cannot help thinking unduly long".[2]

But there is yet more to say in favour of the new distribution of the psalter. It has been carried out with due care for the preservation of the character proper to each hour. "Out of the whole body of psalms, those have been chosen which

[1] Thirty-three from the psalter itself, in addition to the Scripture canticle which goes with the psalmody at lauds.

[2] Callewaert, p. 27.

appeared most suitable to the character of lauds and compline, and the selection seems exceedingly happy."[1] For mattins and the lesser hours the psalms have been allotted mainly according to their numerical order; yet, here and there, certain infractions of that order seem to have been made with a view to breaking the monotony which threatened the psalmody of these lesser hours.[2] Certain thoughts are associated with particular days of the week, which have perhaps determined the choice of this or that psalm; thus the psalm *Dominus regit me* was probably chosen of old for the place which it will continue to occupy in the Thursday prime, because it calls up the thought of the Blessed Sacrament; and the psalm *Deus, Deus Meus* for Friday, because of its application to our Saviour's prayer on the Cross; and "the same may very likely be the case with many other psalms".[3] I think this remark very just, and well worth the trouble of following up: our use of the office for festivals has accustomed us to give to its psalmody the colour, so to speak, of the festival; it remains for us to give to the ferial psalmody its colour also, not so obvious, and more subtile; to the perception of this in her new psalter we are now invited by the Church.

The reform of Pius X is bound to incur the reproach of being indebted, in its innovations, to the Parisian breviary of 1736. It is impossible to disclaim this indebtedness;[4] and, if we may be permitted to express our mind freely, we regret the indebtedness. But of this borrowing from Paris even a *Romain de Rome* might well say: the Parisian breviary did not deserve reproach on account of its distribution of the psalter considered in itself; Rome, the framer and sovereign ruler of her own liturgy, has never felt herself precluded from borrowing from the Transalpine uses anything excellent which they might happen to possess; and now, having to revise her distribution of the psalter, she has, without repugnance, de-

[1] *Id.* pp. 44, 45.

[2] *Id. ibid.*: "The offices of prayer at the lesser hours will now form an expression of a communication between the soul and its God which is full of trust, expressed in exquisite terms; sometimes its sorrows or its fears, sometimes its joy and confidence, while it celebrates the goodness of God, His justice, His mercies; and again, humbling itself before Him, resigning its own will, or asking His pardon; or expressing its happiness in being permitted to serve Him, and renewing its vows of fidelity to Him".

[3] *Id.* p. 49.

[4] Piacenza, p. 25. M. Boudinhon, *Révue du clergé français*, 15 janv. 1912, p. 138: "Tout n'était donc pas à blâmer dans le Bréviaire de Vintimille, et la principale objection qu'on pouvait lui faire, à savoir le défaut de compétence de l'autorité qui l'établissait, a disparu aujourd'hui".

cided on adopting a scheme of distribution which had been made trial of for more than a century, and which she considered to be the best.

For all these reasons, and without meaning to say that the present reform leaves room for no regret, no criticism, no possible amendment, we hail it with joy for what it has preserved, what it has restored, and what it promises; we hail it as historians, who are aware of the extreme difficulty of the problem that had to be solved, and as liturgists who, like the old Provost of Tongres, felt that it was only from Rome that a reform of the Roman breviary could be hoped for: "*donec de Urbe veniat id quod erit magis perfectum*".

NOTE.

The following document, lately issued by the Congregation of Rites with a view to the revision of the historical lessons in the proper of dioceses and of religious orders, indicates progress in the work of completing the reform of the breviary, though the mention of "thirty years at least" shows that the progress contemplated is far from rapid.

Illme et Rme Domine, uti Frater.

Quum Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papae X magnae curae sit, ut breviarii Romani reformatio ad unguem perficiatur; operae pretium erit, etiam lectiones historicas cuique dioecesi proprias ad trutinam revocare. Quamobrem gratissimum Summo Pontifici fecerit Amplitudo Tua, si pro virili curabit, ut in ista dioecesi Tibi commissa, viri periti eligantur qui, conlatis consiliis, historicas lectiones quas supra dixi diligenter examinent, easque cum vetustis codicibus, si praesto sint, aut cum probata traditione conferant. Quod si repererint eas historias contra fidem codicum et solidae traditionis in aliam formam a nativa degenerasse, omni ope adlaborent ut vera narratio restituatur.

Omnia vero maturius expendenda sunt, ne quid desit ex ea diligentia quae collocanda est in reperiendis codicibus, in eorum variis lectionibus conferendis, et in vera traditione observanda. Nec profecto opus est festinatione; putamus enim spatium ad minus triginta annorum necessarium, ut breviarii reformatio feliciter absolvatur.

Interea, quum opus in ista dioecesi perfectum fuerit, Amplitudo Tua, ut illud ad hanc Sacrorum Rituum Congregationem mittatur, pro sua pietate sataget: ita tamen, ut si quid in lectionibus historicis additum vel demptum aut mutatum fuerit, rationes quae ad id impulerunt brevi sed lucida oratione afferantur.

Dum haec, de speciali mandato Summi Pontificis, Amplitudini Tuae significo, diuturnam ex animo felicitatem adprecor.

Romae, die 15 Maii, 1912.

Amplitudini Tuae uti Frater addictissimus.

FR. S. CARD. MARTINELLI, *Praefectus*.

✠ PETRUS LA FONTAINE, Episc. Charystien, *Secretarius*.

NOTA.—Hisce similes literae missae sunt ad Praepositos generales Ordinum seu Congregationum Religiosorum, quoad Propria Officiorum ipsis concessa.

APPENDIX.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF A PORTION OF EXCURSUS A.[1]

Refectory Customs.

When they come to their morning repast the prior says the prayers with the brethren: that is, they recite slowly the whole of the *Oculi omnium*—Ps. cxliv. verses 15 and 16—with *Gloria Patri* following it, and after that they sing Alleluya. Then the priest says the Collect, in such a voice that all may hear, and respond "Amen". This Collect is "May these Thy gifts be blessed to us, O Lord," or some other, there being many appointed for use at this meal. Then they sit down, each in his place. And they have, near the abbot's table, a suitable pulpit raised on high, with a desk on which the book is laid, and there they sit when they read. And as soon as the serving brethren put on the first dish, and the bell sounds for grace to be said before eating, all respond "Thanks be to God," and the prior or the priest, or whoever is bidden, making the sign of the Cross, says grace so that all may hear, and respond "Amen". And as soon as they begin to eat, the reader is ready, and forthwith asks a blessing, saying, "Sir, bid a blessing," and the senior brother says "May the Lord save us," and all respond "Amen". So he begins to read, and reads on for as long a time as they are eating that course. But if the repast is prolonged, so that they sit longer than usual, or if another course is to be served, the prior raps on the table for the reader to cease for a space. And if there is fish or fowl for them to eat, when it is set on, and the bell rings for it to be blessed, all respond "Thanks be to God," and the prior, or whoever else is bidden by him, blesses it, saying "May the Lord, the Creator of all things, bless these His creatures," and all respond "Amen," and begin eating. But if it is some other food he says the prayer, "Through the supplications of Mary, the Holy Mother of God, may the Lord bless us and these His gifts," and all respond "Amen".

And when the second course is set on, the reader again reads, until such time as the abbot tells him to finish; or if he finds a suitable point at which to conclude, and the bell for blessing has sounded, he repeats the last sentence over again slowly, and all respond "Thanks be to God," and he comes down from the pulpit. And if he has been reading a long time, or has finished what he is

[1] See p. 116, v.

reading, he repeats the last words over again, and adds "But Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us," and all respond "Amen". So both at nocturns and the evening reading, and whenever he reads the Divine law, such is the custom that he always, when he is to begin reading, asks a blessing, saying "Sir, bid a blessing". And when he has finished reading they respond "Thanks be to God," and the reader, coming down from the pulpit, goes to the abbot's table and receives his blessing, that he also may eat and drink. And when the brethren rise from the table they say slowly "All Thy works praise Thee, O Lord"—Ps. CXLIV. verse 10—with *Gloria Patri*, and singing Alleluya at the end. And if they have a more abundant repast, so that some remains over, the prior, or he to whom this office is committed, says the prayer "May Christ the Son of God multiply to His servants the fragments that remain, and may He bless them and make them to abound, Who is blessed for ever". And when all have responded "Amen," they go into the oratory to pray to God and give thanks, and there, when these prayers are ended, they say "He hath dispersed abroad"—Ps. CXI. verse 9—and so finish the grace after meat.

And for the evening meal, when they have entered the refectory, let them say without delay "The poor shall eat"—Ps. XXI. verse 26—with *Gloria Patri*, and singing Alleluya at the end. Then the senior brother says the prayer, so that all may hear, and respond "Amen," viz. the prayer "These Thy gifts, O Lord," or some other, according to the season. Then sitting down in their seats they proceed in the same way as at the morning meal.

And if it happen that night comes on while they are at supper, and it is necessary to kindle a light, the brother who brings in the light, as soon as he enters, and is near to the seniors, says, in such a voice that all may hear, "The light of Christ," and all respond "Thanks be to God".[1] Then, bowing, he says "Sir, bid a blessing," and the senior brother says, "In the name of the Lord be it, etc.," and they respond "Amen," and so he sets the light in its place, so that all in the house may see.

And if he has been ordered to pour out[2] wine for the brethren to drink, the serving brother goes to the sideboard and taps with his finger on the cup, and all respond "Thanks be to God". Then he signs it with the sign of the Cross, and all respond "Amen," and so they drink with a blessing.

[1] ["Another old custom there is of saying, when light is brought in, "God sends us the light of heaven," and the parson likes this very well: neither is he afraid of praising or praying to God at all times, but is rather glad of catching opportunities to do them. Light is a great blessing, and as great as food, for which we give thanks; and those that think this superstitious, neither know superstition nor themselves. As for those that are ashamed to use this form as being old, and obsolete, and not in the fashion, he reforms and teaches them, that at baptism they professed not to be ashamed of Christ's Cross, or for any shame to leave that which is good. He that is ashamed in small things, will extend his pusillanimity to greater."—George Herbert, *A Priest to the Temple*, chap. xxxv.]

[2] [Literally "to mix," the wine being commonly mixed with water.]

And if the Lord has given them fruit, the senior brother says the prayer "May the Almighty God bless these His fruits," and all respond "Amen". And so is it done at every course.

And when refection is ended, and the signal given for rising from table, the brother who is serving his week in the kitchen, and who, when the brethren take refection, always waits with the other serving brothers at the table of the seniors or brethren, on their rising from table goes down on his knees towards the East, and asks them to pray for him, saying "Sirs, pray for me," and the senior brother says "The Lord save us, etc." Then that brother rising up, says slowly "Thanks be to God," and forthwith all the brethren begin singing "Thanks be always to Thee, O Lord," and when this is finished the prior with the brethren says slowly "The merciful and gracious Lord"—Ps. cx. verses 4 and 5—with *Gloria Patri*, and adding Alleluya: or else "Who giveth food to all Flesh," and "O give thanks unto the God of Heaven, for He is gracious, and His mercy endureth for ever"—Ps. cxxxv. verses 25 and 26—and the priest says the prayer, viz. "Thou hast filled us, O Lord, etc.," and at the end all respond "Amen," and so they go to prayer, and pray as it has been already written.

The brother who enters on his week's service in the kitchen on the Sunday, enters on and leaves that service according to that which is written in the Rule of S. Benedict. As soon as mattins are finished in the oratory, the brother who is ending his week of service asks the brethren to pray for him, saying "Sirs, pray for me". And they pray, the senior brother saying "Save thy servant, etc.," and that brother responds, and says with all the brethren "Blessed art Thou, Lord God, etc.," and having repeated this thrice and received the blessing of the superior, he quits his service. And forthwith he who is entering on his week says "O God, make speed, etc.," and repeats this prayer thrice along with all the brethren, and so, having received the blessing, he enters on the service of his brethren. So also in the church of Blessed Peter the Apostle, the priest who serves his week, or the sacristans who attend to the lighting and decking of the church, give over their offices to their fellows at the third hour on the Saturday, and so quit their service and go to their own houses, and those others, both the priest and his fellows, serve until the next Saturday, and then do likewise, and thus, in all that pertains to His service, God is served decently and in order.

NOTE ON THE SALVE REGINA (see p. 172, note 1).

This antiphon, which became popular in the twelfth century through the influence of S. Bernard, was at that period known as the *Antiphona de Podio* (Puy-en-Velay). It seems to have been composed by Aymar, Bishop of Puy, who died in 1098. See E. Vacandard, "Les origines, littéraire, musicale, et liturgique, du *Salve Regina*," in the *Revue du clergé français*, t. LXXI. (1912), pp. 137-151.

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